

IDEALS OF
ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS
AND THE
ARTHAS'ĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

BY

B. B. NAIK, M. A.

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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Principal, Kumbhal College, Dhule.

1932

RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.

21 FEB 1934

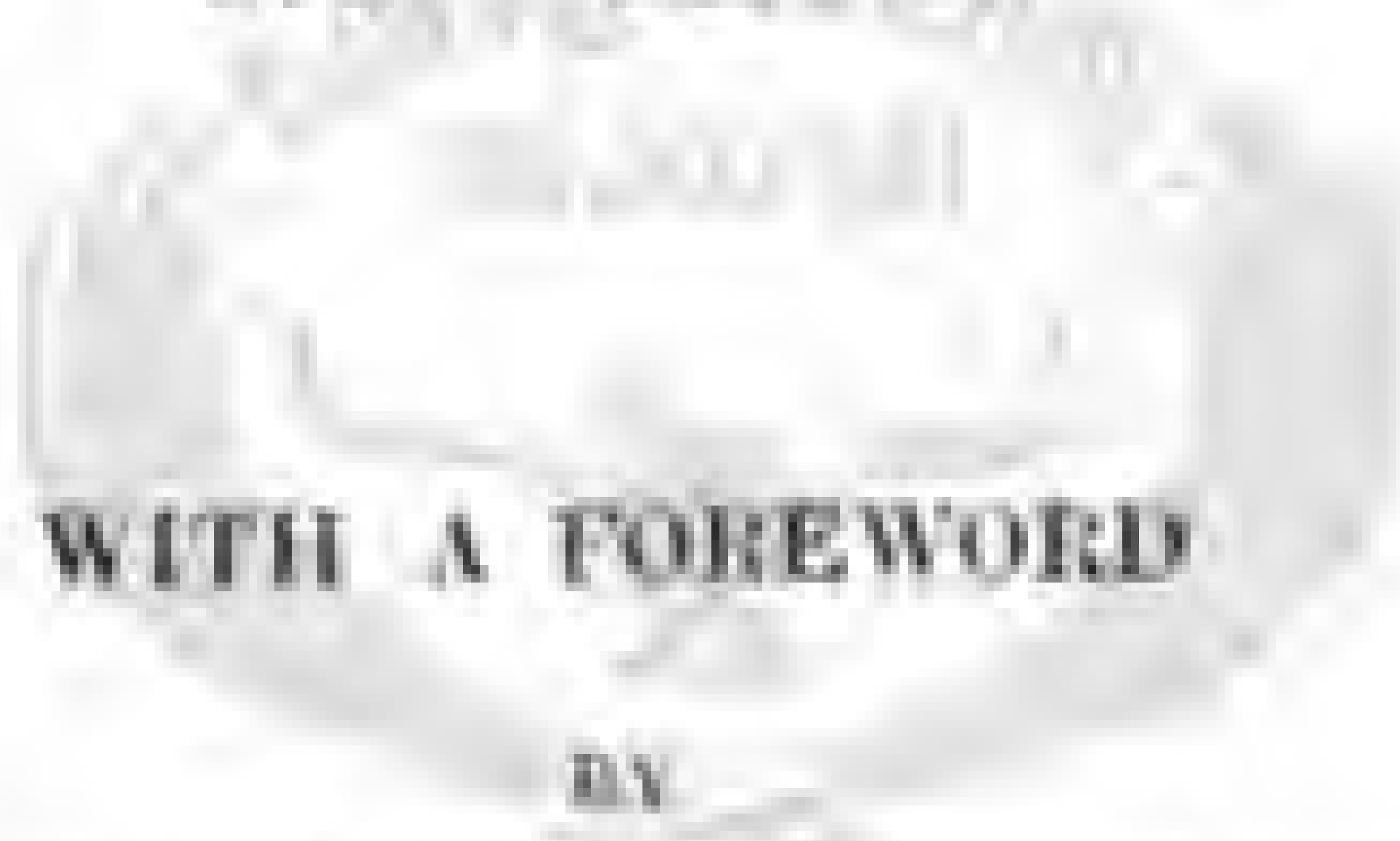


A THESIS ACCEPTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY IN LIEU OF THE
FOUR PAPERS IN CANDIDATE AT THE M. A. EXAMINATION.

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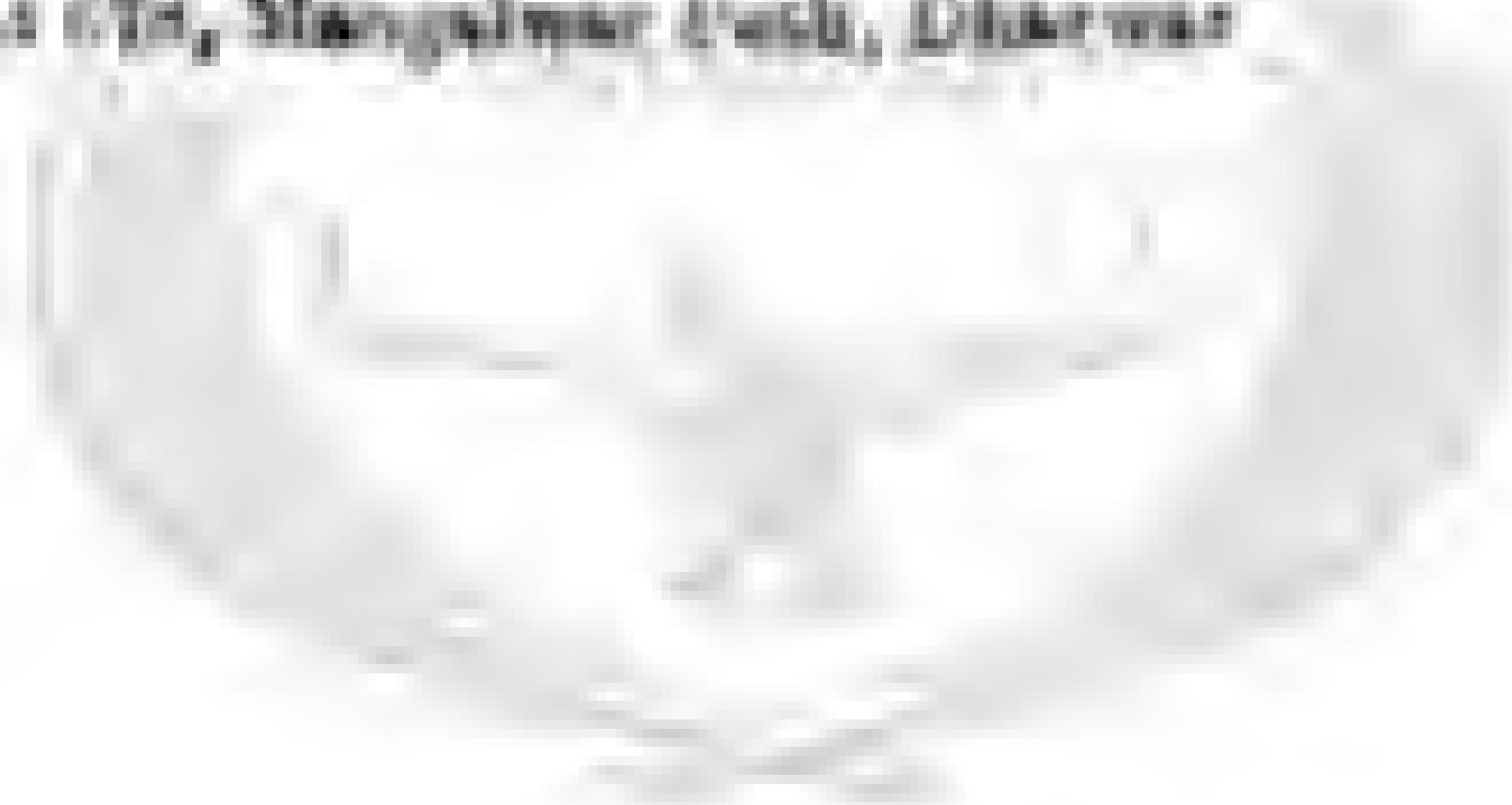
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1952

Printed by K. B. Dhian, at the Karnatak Printing Works,
Dharwar & Published by H. B. Nalik, M. A.,
at 67a, Mangalore Road, Dharwar



To my father

Pirthanaga

SHINDAO B. MAIN

with gratitude and love

FOREWORD

A few years ago the University of Bombay decided to institute, in the M. A. curriculum, a degree by thesis as an alternative to the more ordinary degree by examination. The motive of this change was to encourage research and to make students think for themselves.

The Karnatak College has already been responsible for much creditable research through the medium of its Sanskrit Literary Association but this essay by Mr. B. B. Naik — recently accepted by the University — is the first thesis submitted from the College. It is an attempt to elucidate the basic political ideas of the Ancient Hindus, and though I cannot unfortunately claim any personal knowledge of the Sanskrit texts examined, I can recognize in it an honest and painstaking attempt to solve a difficult problem.

A. C. FARRAN

PREFACE

While reading for the degree of B. A., I had to study the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya along with my fellow-students¹ by employing modern critical methods under the direction of Prof. V. G. Bhat, M. A. (cantab). Partly owing to the political genius of its author, and partly to the modern character of the administrative machinery described therein, my curiosity in ancient Indian Politics received an impetus which impelled me to study besides the *Arthasāstra*, some more Sanskrit works bearing on the subject in question, like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, the *Manusmṛiti* etc. Accidentally, I picked up some books written by oriental scholars on Hindu Polity, namely, Prof. Senker's 'Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus', Dr. Banarjee's 'Public Administration in Ancient India,' Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity,' etc. But the conclusions arrived at by these scholars in regard to the political ideals and theories of the ancient Hindus, which usually hinted at the existence of the elements of democracy, somehow appeared to be in disagreement with the notions, which I had formed after reading the books mentioned above. To ascertain the correctness of my views I began to study them, (especially the *Arthasāstra*), with great attention.

1. This was while we were working for the 'Studies in the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya' — a publication of the Sanskrit Literary Association, Karnatak College, Dharwar, in the year 1929.

PREFACE

but to my surprise and satisfaction the ideas which I originally held concerning ancient Hindu Politics appeared to be both sound and correct. The present essay is a modest attempt at their systematic expression.

In order to equip myself with necessary knowledge for the purpose I studied some works on modern Politics, such as "The Nature of the State" by Willoughby, "Elements of Political Science" by Leacock etc. and also went through the Dharmaśāstra literature and the relevant portions of the Mahābhārata. I have not in this connexion, adduced any passages from the R̥gveda in this essay as, in that particular age, it is not possible to find any developed theories of the State and its origin.

In the course of trying to find out the basic ideas of the ancient Hindus about the State I came to know that they were based on the foundations of Dharma alone. And this to my mind is a fresh contribution to our understanding of the political philosophy of the Hindus of bygone days.

In the following pages I have set forth my views as follows :—

The chief intention of the essay being an examination of the political ideas of the ancient Hindus in the

PREFACE

light of modern political science. I have first of all, dealt with a few essential theories of the State prevalent in the West. I have also tried to explain in brief the modern idea of the State. Then, I have proceeded at some length to examine the conception of Ancient Hindu Kingship (for that was the only institution of the State with which they were familiar). As a result of its critical examination, I found out that the ancient Hindu monarchy was based on the secure foundation of the Dharma – the basic principle of the universe and not on any of the democratic principles. I have evidently established a similarity between the Dharma and the idea of the State in Europe.

The latter half of the essay, I have devoted for the critical examination of the *Arthśāstra* of Kautilya. I have selected for my study this particular work because I deem it to be the most representative and comprehensive treatise on the political ideas of our forefathers. As an outcome of its critical study, I have concluded, that what was true of the *Dharmasāstra* idea of the State, was equally true of the idea of the *Arthśāstra*, and this fact showed to me that Kautilya took the political philosophy of the *Dharmasāstra* for granted, and treated of the practical administration of the State to cope with the complex requirements of the Mauryan empire, that probably was constituted of petty autonomous states.

PREFACE

The whole trend of the essay is to show that the Ancient Indian political philosophy is not based, as some scholars are tempted to believe, on the principles of democracy, but on the wider principle of Dharma.

Now I have the very pleasant duty of tendering my grateful thanks to Principal A. C. Farran, M.A., I.R.S., of the Karnatak College, Dharwar, for kindly writing the foreword and also for encouragement and valuable suggestions. I also offer my sincerest thanks to my tutor Prof. V. G. Bhat, M.A. (Castab), M.B.A.S., under whom I had the privilege and pleasure of working as a post-graduate student, for constant advice and paternal encouragement. But for his able guidance it would have been practically impossible for me to place this book before the public. I also take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Principal G. B. Jathar, M.A., I.R.S., for having provided me with all sorts of facilities while working for the essay. Lastly, my cordial thanks are due to all my friends, and especially to Mr. K. Rameshwar, for having prepared the manuscript for the press, and also to Mr. Y. B. Jathar, B.A., L.L.B., the obliging proprietor of the Karnatak Printing Works, Dharwar, for the very nice get-up of the booklet.

DHARWAR,

B. B. NAIK

14th November, 1932.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	I- IV
THE THEORIES OF THE STATE	1- 11
THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY	12- 38
THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY (<i>Contd.</i>)	39- 53
A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ARTHASĀSTRA	54-114
CONCLUSION	115-120
INDEX	121-122
BIBLIOGRAPHY	123-124

RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.

21 FEB 1934

IDEALS OF
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I
THE THEORIES OF THE STATE AND
THE INSTITUTION OF MONARCHY

The Object of the essay—Origin of the State and justification of its authority—The Social Contract theory—Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau—The Divine theory—The Historical theory—Monarchy, the earliest form of the body politic—Nature of Monarchy — Monarchy and Democracy compared—The State as conceived to-day

The essay being primarily an attempt at a study of Ancient Hindu Politics in general and the Arthas'āstra of Kautilya in particular, on modern critical lines, we think it necessary, to treat in brief at the very outset, those ideas of modern political science which are essential for its proper understanding. Accordingly, the first chapter which forms as it were, the background of the thesis, has been exclusively devoted for the concise pre-

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

sentation of the ideas of western political thinkers concerning the state and its origin.

Any inquiry in the field of political science, must be based on clear notions as regards the origin of the State and the justification of its authority. The question of the rationality of the authority of the State is intimately connected with the one of its origin. "Speculation," says Leacock, "as to the beginning of government is not merely a matter of historical curiosity, for it is intimately connected with the more important question of the justification of government-the right of the State to be."

With the dawn of political consciousness, man, who blindly obeyed authority from sheer fear of physical or supernatural force, attempted a rational explanation of political power. Crude concepts as to the origin of the State and its authority were followed by more reasonable theories which kept pace with the contemporary political experiments. To the modern analytical eye these speculative theories of the past may appear fallacious, being in the main the outgrowth of the actual political conditions of their age, 'explaining the institutions and reflecting the motives and ideals underlying current political thought' and thus liable to modification with the changes of time and its political ideals. These various theories although fallacious have exerted great

THEORIES OF THE STATE

influence in the formation of the modern political theory and the structure of government. We give below such of them as appear to be consistent with the purpose of the essay.

I. The Theory of Social Contract.

Of all the views concerning the origin and justification of the State, the doctrine of social contract stands pre-eminent and is of supreme importance in the extent of its influence on present day political thought.

It assumes an original non-political life of mankind antecedent to the institution of the body politic or the State. In this primitive stage or the 'State of Nature' as it is called, man was found to obey the dictates of his reason or rather of his instinct — The Law of Nature¹ —utterly uncontrolled by any laws of human imposition. In this natural state every man possessed only 'Natural Rights.' In course of time, either because that condition was too good to last or because it was intolerable on account of the selfish aggression of individuals, man was compelled to desert it. He entered into an agreement with his fellow-men, formed a union abandoning his 'Natural Rights' in return for common protection, and thus created the civil society or the State. "Natural law," as Gettel says, "was replaced by the law of the

1. Vide pp. 92-94. The Nature of the State—Willoughby.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

State, which enforced by all created mutual rights and duties." In addition to the formation of the body politic, the individuals constituting it had to reach a further agreement among themselves, according to which a government was created and authority concentrated in particular hands.

This is in substance the theory of Social Contract. "It is essentially individualistic, viewing the State as the deliberate creation of man, and the authority of government as resting ultimately on the consent of the governed."

This theory the idea of which is traced even in the writings of Plato and Aristotle,¹ attained great prominence during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, leading itself to divergent interpretations at the hands of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. According to Hobbes, the State of Nature being one of war, men by consent transferred their 'Rights' irrevocably to a common authority who was expected to afford them protection but who formed no party to the contract. Locke thought the State of Nature to be one of 'equality and freedom' but ultimately unsatisfactory and inconvenient. He therefore said that men were led to abandon their Natural State and submit to the restraint of the Civil Society. In the contract which they made however, the

1. See Tomp's Introduction to Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

THEORIES OF THE STATE

ruler was also a party and hence, Locke maintained that the contract was subject to dissolution the moment the monarch failed to attend to his duty. With Rousseau the State of Nature was one of ideal happiness relinquished only because of the growing population and advancing civilization which brought evils in their train and marred the condition of this "idyllic felicity." According to the agreement which men formed the government was viewed as a mere instrument to carry out the orders of the General Will.

From the above it can be easily seen that these philosophers offered their individual ascriptions of the theory in order to justify the political institutions which each of them affected: the first advocating absolute Monarchy, the second upholding constitutional or limited Monarchy, and the third pleading for modern Democracy.¹

1. Though the fundamental principles on which the theory is based have been violently criticised, yet, it should be remembered, that the spirit of the theory is ever there to serve as the corner-stone of any state in any age. Cf. "Whenever any form of govt. apart from the merest tyranny exists, reflection on the basis of the state cannot but lead to the notion that it is based on the consent tacit or expressed, past or present, of its members". G. D. H. Cole—in his introduction to R's *Social Contract*.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

2. The Theory of Divine Right.

Next comes the theory of the divine right of kings. It sprang up in the period of religious strife between the papacy and the new protestant princes and was used first as a weapon of defence by the latter ; later it became a defensive weapon of the monarchists. The theory postulates that the institution of the State—and especially that of monarchy is a deliberate divine creation. That the king is a trustee of the people directly appointed by God as his representative on earth. This theory makes the king responsible to God.

3. The Present Political Theory.

The edifice of the ' Historical or the Evolutionary theory ' which is being advocated by the best of modern thinkers, is erected on the solid foundations of a vast amount of research work in the field of Anthropology.

It views the State not as a deliberate human creation or a Divine gift, but as an organism, subject to the ordinary laws of nature. It has, according to this theory, gone through a long process of growth or development and is comparable to physical or intellectual capabilities of man. It establishes that " the State is not an invention ; it is a growth, an evolution, the result of a gradual process throughout all the known history of man and receding into the remote and unknown past". " The

1. Leacock :—Elements of Political Science.

THEORIES OF THE STATE

theory holds the institution of Patriarchal family to be the primary unit of social organisation. According to it families combined to form a 'gens' or the 'House'; groups of 'houses' formed a tribe, and finally a community of tribes resolved itself into the State¹. Ultimately the family discipline permeated the entire organisation and hence the earliest distinctive political institution manifested itself everywhere in the form of monarchy².

Kautilya being the foremost exponent of the ancient Indian state-craft, it is but natural that his ideas concerning the State should exclusively hinge on the institution of monarchy. Before therefore, embarking upon the discussion of the subject proper it is essential for us to clarify our ideas about monarchy so as to employ them in our examination of the *Arthashastra*.

In this form of government in theory at least, authority is concentrated in a single individual who is called the king. He is the main-spring or repository of the executive, judicial, and legislative powers, and consequently the administrative officials of the state are expected to carry out his behests. As a corollary to

1. For a detailed description of the evolution of the State from the family, see Wilson's *The State-Chapter I*.

2. It is significant to note in this connection that Aristotle had long anticipated or rather outlined this theory of 'Evolution' in his *Politics*.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

this his indefeasible sovereignty, follows the theory of his overlordship with reference to that particular tract of country over which he exercises his sway. In monarchy men retain their possessions for themselves only during the pleasure of the king. Under this form of government, the State is completely identified with the ruler and hence all its activities tend to converge to the single end of promoting his own material prosperity. Furthermore, the will of the monarch reigns supreme over the will of the people, and lastly what is called 'Civil liberty' exists if at all only in a very restricted sense. It may only be said to exist in so far as the individual secures protection against his fellow-subjects. In other words, the institution of monarchy practically recognises no rights of Citizenship.

The division of responsibility in monarchy and democracy can well be illustrated by taking the figure of an Isosceles triangle. At the base we find the responsibility of the executive at its highest, whereas as we proceed from the base towards the apex the responsibility gradually diminishes till at the vertex we find it at its minimum. So quite unlike the democratic state the monarchical state is not responsible to the mass of the people. Another point of distinction between the two is about the ultimate location of sovereignty. Whereas in monarchy the king is the final authority over the

THEORIES OF THE STATE

problems of the State, in democracy it is the general will of the people alone. Finally, whereas in democracy the government or the administrative machinery derives its authority from the General will, in monarchy it derives its authority from the king alone.

Before closing this chapter we are going to state in brief the evolution of the modern idea of the State as we want to utilise it later on for comparing it with its Hindu conception.

Firstly, the State is viewed to-day as a pure secular organisation as distinguished from the Church or the religious institution. "The State, while not considered as immoral, is now held to be essentially non-moral, and its activities and interests viewed as wholly independent of those matters that particularly pertain to the spiritual life of man¹."

This idea of the State has evolved from the theological to the metaphysical and thence to the positive stage. In the theological stage the institution of the State and everything pertaining to it—the law and its administrator—were regarded to have been invested with a halo of divinity. Religious and civic matters were almost identified. This was the universal attitude of the earliest human society towards the State. Especially it persisted long among the nations of the East.

1. Willoughby - *The Nature of the State*—P. 385.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

In the next or the metaphysical stage not God but Nature was postulated to be the proximate cause of the State and its laws. The divine element however, was relegated rather to a subordinate position as God was recognised to be but indirectly related to the creation of the body politic. The Romans, who incorporated the idea of a rational universal law of Nature¹ elaborated by the Stoic philosophers, thought all human laws conformed to it and not to the Divine Law.

With the disappearance of the groundless ideas of Divine and Natural laws, the conception of the State as a positive and secular institution came into vogue.

Secondly, the modern State is characterised as a thorough Sovereign Body—entirely independent both externally and internally. With the elimination of the ideas of Divine and Natural Laws the State whose will was so long presumed to have been fettered by either of them, naturally realised its unbounded will in the exercise of unqualified authority,—though it continues to this day the delimitation of its power for practical purposes. The factors which have contributed to the development of this idea are, the study of Roman Law, the influence of the Christian Church, the feudal idea of allegiance, the rise of powerful monarchies, and the enunciation of new theories in politics.

1. Vide Willoughby — The Nature of the State—PP. 95-99.

THEORIES OF THE STATE

Finally there comes the attribute of what is called the 'Personality'¹ of the State which is said to be the most distinguishing feature of the conception of the modern State. This idea having a most recent origin as it is too abstract, has practically no history behind it.

To conclude then, the modern State is regarded as a secular positive body absolutely independent both of its citizens and the co-ordinate states, being endowed with a Personality of its own which consists in the unity of political purpose of its citizens.

1. Cf. "..... Personality is not identical with physical individuality. Personality signifies the capacity for united, continuous, reasoning volition". Jellinek—quoted by Willoughby in *The Nature of the State*—p. 135.



II

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

The King an embodiment of organised rule to the ancient Hindus—Theories of Kingship—The State neither an invention nor a human creation but an outcome of the Divine—III—The Divinity of the King—The duties and responsibilities of the King—Limitations on royal authority—(1). Dharma, the Cosmic Law—the concept as old as the Rigveda—Identity of Dharma and the idea of the State in Europe, (2). The instinct of self-preservation—The position of the King in ancient India—The Patriarchal Ideal.

Right from the Vedic times the ancient Hindus seem to have realised the enormous importance of organised rule embodied in a King. They appear to have thought that the disciplined life of society was entirely due to its existence. The *Attharva Brâhmana* tells us that in the battle between the Devas and the Asuras the former were defeated, and this defeat, in the opinion of the Devas, was solely due to the fact that they lacked a King, and forth-with they elected one from among themselves¹.

1. देवाऽसुरा वा एषु लोकेषु समवतत तस्मिन्तोऽसुरा
अजयन् देवाऽऽब्रुवन् राजतया वै नो जयति राजानं करवामहा
इति तथेति 1-14.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

"If the King", Manu observes, "were not to wield the rod of chastisement with great vigilance over those deserving to be chastised, the strong would kill the weak [like the fish in water". [यदि न प्रजवेद्यानां दण्डं रंद्-
येष्वतन्द्रितः । जले मत्स्यानिषामक्षयन्दुर्बलान्बलवत्तराः ।]¹. The Mahābhārata which holds that it is irreligious (lit. not in accord with the Vedas) to inhabit a Kingless country², denounces the anarchical form of government presumably because of the chaotic condition prevailing therein³, saying "Nothing is more conducive to sin than a kingdom without a ruler"⁴. Almost in the vein of Manu Kautilya also while emphasising the paramount necessity of having a King, remarks :— अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्याय मुद्राववति । बलीयानबले हि मयते दुष्टवराणां च । "When Danda is not exercised, it gives rise to the Logic of the fish (i. e. anarchy). In the absence of a King wielding the rod of chastisement the strong favours the weak." "The king", says Kāśīśāstra⁵ "is as important a prop of creatures as the rain itself, nay, perhaps more, since one can survive the failure of rain, but not the absence

1. VII. 29.

2. नाराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु वस्तुभ्यामांत वेदिकम् । S'āstr. LXVI. 5.

3. cf. Verses 13-15ibid, and also 10-19. Ibid. LXVII.

4. न हि राज्यात्पापतरमास्ति किंचिदराजह्रात् । S'āstr. LXVI. 7.

5. Arthas'āstra. P. 9

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

of the King.¹ " Bhāṣa echoes the same idea when he compares the helpless plight of a kingless people to that of a herd of cattle that has lost the herdsman.²

As to the origin of Kingship it was popularly traced from God. This theory of the Divine origin of Kingship which was first hinted at in the R̥gveda³ and also in the dogmatic assertions of the Brāhmaṇas,⁴ was elaborated and placed on comparatively sounder foundations by Manu and the Mahābhārata. The theory detailed in Manu substantially coincides with the one that we find in the Mahābhārata but nevertheless, there is a slight distinction between the two which we shall note later on.

1. पञ्चैव इव भूतानामाधारः पृथिवीपतिः ।

विकलेऽपि हि पञ्चैव जीव्यते न तु मूयती । Nishkāra, ch.1.13

2. गोपदीना यथा गावो विलसं बान्धवालिताः ।

एवं वृषतिदीना हि विजयं वान्ति वै प्रजाः ॥ २३ ॥

Pratimā. Act III.

3. "The spouse of Parāśara gave oblations to you, oh Indra—Varuna, with homage. Then unto her ye gave King Trasadasyu, the demigod, the slayer of the women." :—

पुरुषकृपानी हि वामदाशद्वयेनिरिन्द्रावरुणा वसोभिः ।

अथा राजानं त्रसदस्युमस्या वृषदणं वदधुरर्षदेवं ॥

IV. 42. 9.

4. "As as to why a Rajanya shoots, he, the Rajanya, is manifestly of Prajapati : hence while being one he rules over many". — 'Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.' 1. 6, 14. And also Cf. Vajasaneya Samhitā : 1. 4, 9; 2, 5, 8;

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

Let us firstly take up the theory of Manu. He says:— "When this Kingless world dispersed in terror in all quarters, the Lord created the King for its protection, a being who was composed of the immutable fractions of Indra, the Wind-god, Yama, the Sun-god, the Fire-god, Varuna, the Moon-god, and the Lord of Wealth.¹ " These constituent divine 'Parts' (*Matrah*) of the king were interpreted as the symbols of his various functions appropriate to different environments². The theory, it will be observed, conceives 'The State of Nature' as one of confusion and anarchy quite in the Hobbesian spirit³, and attributes the creation of the monarch to the will of God. Thus Manu appears to have thought that King's rule rested finally not upon an agreement but upon the divine ordination.

A somewhat similar theory is elaborately and facetiously expounded in the *Mahābhārata*. In Chapter 58 of the *S'āntiparvan* King Yudhishtira is introduced as asking Bhishma two questions—one about the origin of the title of Rājan and the other about the justification

1. अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन्प्रवर्तते विदुते भवात् ।

रक्षार्थमस्य लोकस्य राजानमनुजग्रभुः ॥

इन्द्रानिलयमान्यमानमेव ब्रह्मस्य च ।

चन्द्रविलेखयाथैव मात्रानिर्हृत्य जन्मतीः ॥ VII. 5-4.

2. Cf. Manu IX. 339-341; and also S'anti, LXVII. 40-47.

3. See page 4 Chapter I. (of this essay).

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

of the superiority and mastery of one man subject to the ordinary laws of nature, over his fellow-beings equally intelligent, efficient, and strong in body and mind. The answer to these queries obviously leads Bhīṣma to recount a story about the creation of the King and the basis of his authority. He begins his discourse by observing " (Originally) there was neither Sovereignty nor Sovereign, neither coercion nor coercive authority, and people used to govern themselves by means of Dharma, the Sacred Law"¹. But this state could not long endure. In a short time, we are told, society fell a victim to the ravaging vices of passion, greed, self-indulgence and anger², and its corruption entailed the effacement of the Vedas and defilement of Righteousness or Dharma³. (The above description of the gradual corruption of the idyllic pre-statal condition as given by Bhīṣma, it should be noted in passing, is very similar to the idea of Rousseau about the State of Nature.⁴). Frightened at this state of affairs, the gods

1. नैव राज्यं न राजाऽसीद्य च दण्डो न दान्तिष्ठतः ।

धर्मोऽयं प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्व परस्परम् ॥ १४ ॥

Śloka LXVIII.

2. Ibid. Verses 15-20.

3. विभ्रुते नखलोकेभ्यस्तिष्ठतो ब्रह्म ननाश ह ।

नाशाच्च ब्रह्मणो राजन्धर्मो नाशमवाप्तमहम् ॥ २१ ॥ Ibid.

4. See Chap. I. P. 4. (of this essay)

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

sought the protection of the Lord Brāhmā, who created for their sake an exhaustive treatise on Dandanīti which deals with the fourfold ends of life : virtue, wealth, desire and salvation¹. Then they approached the Lord Viṣṇu and begged of him to select a person who would deserve the highest position among mortals. Thereupon by the power of his will he created Virajas (विरजस्) out of his own lustre- 'तेजसं विरजसं सोऽभ्युज्जमानसं सुतम्' ॥

This is in substance the theory of the origin of the State as presented in the Mahābhārata. It is slightly different from Manu in that it pictures the State of Nature as being originally of an idyllic condition. Both of them perfectly agree in ascribing the creation of the State or the king to God for securing common-weal. To put it in modern terminology, these theorists view the State neither as a voluntary organisation of men nor as an organism evolved out of human instinct and reason, but as a thing imposed upon mankind for its general good by some external Agency superior to man. "It is", to put in the words of the European monarchists of the Middle Ages, "the instrument of a divine purpose."

1. ततोऽध्यायसदृशाणां कर्तुं चक्रे स्वकुट्टिजम् ।
यत्र धर्मस्तथैवार्थः कामयैव तु वर्णितः ॥ २१ ॥
त्रिवर्ग इति विख्यातो मम एव स्वर्गमुखा ।
चतुर्थो मोक्ष इत्येव पृथगर्थः पृथग्गुणः ॥ २२ ॥ Ibid.

2. Ibid, २६.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

There was another theory current in those times according to which the institution of Kingship owed its origin partly to human initiative. This view has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata and also in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya which we shall note later on. The following is the gist of the theory :—

Being disgusted with the state of confusion and suspense wherein like the fish in water the strong assailed the weak, people arrived at a mutual understanding (Samaya) between themselves. (अराजकाः प्रजाः पूर्वं विनेशुरिति नः भूतम् । परस्परं महबन्धो मत्स्या इव बले कुशान् । समेकं तास्तद्वशकुः समवानिति नः भूतम् ।)¹ But this condition proved unsatisfactory and hence all of them together, approached the Grand-father (पितृमहः) and said unto him "We are perishing, oh Lord, for want of a king. Appoint a king over us. We shall worship him and he shall protect us". [अमृतस्य विनश्यामो मयाजीश्वरं दिश । यं पूजयेम संभूय यथनः प्रतिपालयेत् ।]² The Great God specified Manu as their king whom they greeted with loud cheers. Manu on his part was reluctant to assume the reins of government since he said that to rule over mortals of fraudulent character was indeed the most

1. Śaṅkharvaṇa, LXVI — 17-18.

2. Ibid, 20-21.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

difficult task. But the people prevailed upon him to become their king by promising to offer a fixed share of their income¹.

The theory is equally fanciful like the one mentioned above. In its attempt to found the State purely on human efforts it inevitably falls back upon God as it thinks with the characteristic of the Hindu mind that any undertaking would be successful only when supported and sanctified by the Divine will. In attributing to Brahman the appointment of Manu as the king of men, the theory, though indirectly, invests Kingship with a halo of divinity.

The Divinity and consequent unbounded prowess of the king is extolled in unequivocal terms both in the *Manu Smṛiti* and the *Mahābhārata*.

"Because the king is created out of the parts of the guardians of the world", (I.e. the Lords of gods), Says Manu, "he steals all the creatures in lustre or greatness²." Again, according to Manu, in view of his irresistible power and divine splendour, the king should

1. पशुनामश्च पञ्चार्धं धूम्रश्च तथैव च ।

धान्यस्य दशमं भागं दास्यामः क्षीरार्धेनम् ॥

Ibid. 23-24.

2. VII. 5; and also Cf. स्यात्तु न चाङ्गोद्विष्टः स्वयमेव सनातनः ।
नातिवर्तिष्यते कश्चिज्जानामिति भारत ॥ S'mā. LXVIII. 135.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

not be molested. "Even an infant-monarch should never be defied simply on the score of his being a mortal, for, (although a child), he is verily a mighty divinity confined to a human frame¹. The ordinary fire burns a single person who may happen to touch it unawares, whereas the fire of royal wrath consumes not only the offender but his family, property, and hoards of wealth². "One desirous of prosperity", observes the Mahābhārata, "should honour the king as if he were Indra, for tradition says that in paying homage to the king one worships Indra himself³". It further asserts that gods and the Lords of men are of equal status⁴. The conception of king's divinity reaches its culmination when the Mahābhārata completely identifies the ruler with God Vishnu saying "then the Divine Vishnu entered the person of the king (i. e. Prithu in this case) and thenceforward the Lords of men are worshipped like gods"⁵.

1. Cf. "The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." St Paul :—Quoted by Gaunilo—Political Theories—Ancient and Medieval. Page 175

2. Manu. VII. 8-9; and Cf. also S'astri. LXVII, Sls. 40 & 66

3. इन्द्रमेव प्रथमतः यद्वा जन्मिति स्मृतः ।

यथेवैन्द्रस्तथा राजा संपूज्यो भूविनिष्ठः ॥

S'astri. LXVI. 4.

4. S'astri. LXVII. 153

5. Ibid. LXVIII. 106.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

But this unique position of the King in the land was counterpoised by the heavy responsibility that fell on his shoulders. He was thought to be responsible for any social evil. "When a King errs", remarks Bala'na, "a great calamity befalls the state with the result that irreligious elements spring forth causing confusion of the castes.¹ Nature itself, we are further told, revolts against such a ruler.² The Mahābhārata looks upon the King as the master-architect of the destinies of men. "When a Sovereign commits a blunder the whole world itself is stupified, (for) he alone is the benefactor or the destroyer of all beings.³ Nay, he is the father of circumstances, of time. "All the four ages of Kṛita, Treta, Dwāpara and Kali ", observes the Mahābhārata, " derive their existence from the king and hence the king himself is

1. क्षत्रियस्य प्रमत्तस्य द्यौवसंजायते महान् ।

अधर्मासंप्रवर्धन्ते प्रजासंहरकारकाः ॥

S'asth. LXL. 36.

2. Cf. S'asth. LXL. 83. 87-88.

3. सर्व एव प्रमुच्यन्ते यदा राजा प्रमाद्यति ।

राजेन कर्तुं भूतानां राजैव न विनाशकः ॥

S'asth. LXL. 8-9.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

called an age.¹ A king again, it is asserted, who fails to discharge his duties partakes of sin committed by the people. "That ruler, says the epic", who even having received one sixth of the income (of the subjects) does not protect them, shares one-fourth of their sin".² Dangerous is the abuse of Danda, the law of punishment. "Danda, if used in all wisdom," Manu remarks, "pleases the people, and if wielded indiscriminately brings about an all-round destruction".³ Or the all-powerful sceptre might even annihilate the monarch swerving from the path of his duty.⁴ Bhishma, having ascribed the birth of the four ages to the proper or improper application of Dandaśāstri,⁵ observes "A king who creates the Kali or the Iron age (thus) committing the foulest sort of sin becomes an eternal resident of Hell, a wretch sinking in the sins of his subjects."⁶ He

1. कृतं प्रेता द्वापरस्य कलियुगे भरतर्षभ ।
राजकुलानि सर्वानि राज्येव युगमुच्यते

Shant. Ibid, 8. & also

Cf. Manu. IX, 209, and Shant. LXIX, 25.

2. *Cf. Shant. XXIV St. 10, and also Ibid, LXXV, 5.*

3. समीक्ष्य स धृतः सम्यक्मयी रज्ज्वति प्रजाः ।
असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तु विनाशयति सर्वतः ॥

Manu. VII, 19.

4. *Ibid. VII, 24.*

5. *Shanti LXIX, St. 24.*

6. कलिं प्रवर्त्तनाद्वाजा पापमयंतमश्नुते ।
ततो वसति दुष्कर्मा नरके जायतेऽसीः समाः ॥
प्रजानां कल्मषे समोऽसीति चापि विन्दति ।

Ibid. 27-28.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

was also considered to be economically responsible. This responsibility appears to have been more tangible and direct than the social responsibility. For instance, the Dharmaśāstras enjoined upon the king in unmistakable terms to make good the economic loss suffered by any of his subjects on account of his negligence or carelessness in the proper discharge of his duties. Thus Gautama says, "A King having recovered a property stolen by thieves shall cause it to be received by its legitimate owner, (and in the event of his failure in finding it out), he shall compensate the loss by paying out of his own coffers". [भौमपरिहृतं वयास्वानं समयेद्वाजा । क्षोबाद्वा दद्यात् ।]¹

His main duty was to ensure the safety of his subjects. Very great stress was laid on this duty of protection. In the course of his long discourse Bhishma in the Mahābhārata points out to his royal interlocutor that in the opinion of the great political thinkers of yore 'Protection' was the cream or essence of royal duties (राजधर्मोपा नवनीतम्²). He himself emphatically declares that it is the supreme duty of a king.³ Manu attributes

1. XI. 46-47 ; Cf. also Vishn. II, 68-69.

2. S'astri, LXVIII. 3 L. 1-3.

3. एव एव परो धर्मः यदाजा रक्षति प्रजाः ।

Ibid. LXXI. 36 also

Cf. Ibid-11, LXVIII, 64 ; LXL. 3; and Macn. VII, 144.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDO POLITICS

the creation of the king to the divine purpose of protection.¹ The king who neglected to protect his subjects was no king at all. Says the Great Epic:

किमनुदुहा यो न वदेत् किं वा धेनुवाङ्मदुग्धया ।

वन्धवा भार्या कोभ्यः कोऽर्थो राजान्वरक्षता² ॥

"What is the use of the bull which bears no burden? What purpose is served by the cow which gives no milk? Of what avail is the barren wife? what is to be done with the monarch who fails to protect (the people)?" Besides ensuring the safety of his subjects he had to attend to the following duties. (a) Always to seek the welfare of the people;³ (b) to establish all his subjects in the observance of their respective duties;⁴ (c) to dispense justice with equity;⁵ (d) to practice continence;⁶ and lastly (e) to please the people.⁷

The moral threats which we noted just above were intended to restrain the king from abusing his power which was not in any way restricted by any constitutional means. But these threats by themselves could

1. रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृज्यतुः । VII. 2.

2. S'anti LXXVIII. 41.

3. Cf. Gautama. XI. 6.

4. Ibid. 9; and also Cf. Manu. VII. 85; Vasistha. XLX. 7.

5. Gautama IX. 8; Manu. VIII. 8.

6. Gautama XI. 4; Manu. VII. 30-31.

7. S'anti LXVIII.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

hardly serve the purpose for which they were primarily intended. This fact however does not exclude the possibility of the existence of some self-imposed checks. These were the considerations of Dharma and the instinct of self-preservation.

As to the limitation of Dharma:—

The duties of the king were counted as part and parcel of Dharma — and hence it was that the section on Rājadharmā (duties of the king) found its place in the Dharmasūtras—the supreme law which was conceived as the basis of the universal order and believed to have been emanated from the Divine Will.¹ It was considered as the fundamental principle conducive to the solidarity and progress of the universe of which the human society formed a part. (It might be explained as the sum-total of the powers of the universe or more concretely as the will of the Almighty designed to uphold and guide the whole creation). This Divine Law was

1. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीदेकमेव तच्छ्रेष्ठो ह्यमलसुव्रत
धर्मो तदेवैतन्नस्य क्षत्रं ब्रह्मैस्तस्माद्ब्रह्मोत्परो नास्ति ... ।

"In the beginning there was Brahman alone....It put forth out of itself a splendid means of prosperity which was this Dharma (the law); what is Dharma is the Kshatra of Kshatra (i. e. controller of the King who is himself a Kshatriya). There is nothing higher than this Dharma." (Br. U. 1-4-11).

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

conceived as the supreme regulative principle of the Cosmic order of which the Laws of nature were only a part.

This idea of Dharma can be traced as far back as the Rigveda where it is signified by the word *Rita* (ऋत) which occurs there in numerous places. "In its most general sense", says Griffith, while commenting upon the term, "the conception expressed by the word occupied to some extent the place of natural and moral Law, fate, or the will of a Supreme God¹". Nay, *Rita* expressed a more broad and loftier conception. It was declared to be some *benignant* eternal power pervading and guiding the Cosmic order. Its all-embracing character is thus described by a Vedic seer:—"Born of waters, kine, truth, and mountains, the Holy Law dwells in noblest places, amid men, in truth":—

सृष्टुर्नृसत्तस्योमसदभ्यः सोमः सत्यः अद्विषः सत्यं ॥

The vedic people believed that this infallible principle governed the whole of the universe and made the laws of nature conform to its discipline. "By Law", says an inspired poet while identifying himself with Varuna, the highest God of the Vedic pantheon, "I made to flow the moisture—shedding waters" and set the heaven

1. The Hymns of the Rigveda Vol: I. P. 2.

2. R. V. IV. 49.2.

3. Cf. Ibid: VIII. 12. 3, where rivers are said to flow by the ordinance of Law; & also Cf. I, 124. 3. Ibid.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

firm in the seat of order. By Law the son of Aditi, Law-observer, has spread abroad the world in three-fold measure":—

अहमपो अपिम्बसुसुमाणा धारयं दिवं सदन ऋतस्य ।
कलेन पुत्रो अदिते कृतावीत विनातु प्रथयाद्भूमः ॥

In response to the ordinances of Rita the rosy Dawn in their opinion, recurred day by day; the shining heavenly spheres took their regular rounds. Thus it is said of the Dawn:— "Born in the heavens, the Dawn hath revealed herself in response to the Holy Law, and comes towards us unveiling her majesty"—

स्युर्वा आवो दिविजा कलेना ।
विभुश्वाना महिमानमागात् ॥

It was the Law which laid a path for the Sun to traverse. "For the board Sun," reads a Vedic hymn, "was seen a path more widely laid, the path of holy Law hath been maintained with rays."—

अदार्तिं गतुस्त्वे वरीयसी ।
पन्था ऋतस्य समवस्त रुरिमभिः ॥

Rita was conceived to be the Law working for the good of the universe. It was thought "By Law the

1. R. V. IV. 12. 4.

2. R. V. VII. 75. 1.

3. R. V. I. 126. 2.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

Ādityas stand secure, and Soma clings to his place in heaven.¹ " By going along the path of Rita, Śaramā—'the pointer of Dawn'—was believed to have found out the lost cows of gods;² or Indra was said to have destroyed Vāta, his demonic foe dwelling in the mountains.³ But what was this straight or the right path? It was the path of righteousness, of truth, untrodden by the wicked.⁴ Thus this Law of Rita was finally looked upon as the Law of truth or the great Moral Law whereby like the Asha—the Avestan counter-part of Rita—"the world grows and prospers."⁵ Later on Rita was actually identified with Truth for it was thought "by Law they came to Truth"⁶, and truth on its part in the days of the Upanishads came to be interpreted as Dharma.⁷

The several duties which the individuals belonging to the four-fold division of society were called upon to perform, were believed to have been assigned by Dharma to realise its own purpose *i. e.* to secure the stability of

1. R. V. X. 35. 1.

2. R. V. V. 45. 8.

3. R. V. X. 188. 1.

4. R. V. IX. 74. 6.

5. Maxmüller, Hibbert Lectures, P. 267.

6. R. V. VII. 56.

7. Vide foot-note on page 23 of this essay.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

the universal order. The fulfilment of the obligations imposed by Dharma upon every member of the social order was supposed to achieve what the Gita calls "Loka-sangraha"¹ or the solidarity of society, and hence in view of promoting its well-being it was incumbent upon everybody to discharge such duties as fell to his lot. For instance, a person who was destined to be a soldier had to perform his duties as sanctioned and imposed by Dharma; or again a person who was born to be a doctor was necessarily obliged to perform his duties as a doctor. Even so a person who was born to the royal office was inevitably compelled to do his duties as prescribed by Dharma. The infringement of this inexorable Law by any person in the society, whether a prince or a peasant, was supposed to be unavoidably followed by Divine retribution in one form or the other, since it was thought to be working as rigorously as the known law of Nature. Thus it will be seen that the ancient Hindu Polity recognises the abstract Dharma as being over and above the King and the people holding both of them equally responsible for its observance.

It is nose-worthy that the idea of Dharma comes in close proximity with the idea of State in Europe to

1. Cf. कर्मणैव हि संतिद्धिमान्मिथता जनकादयः ।
लोभसंग्रहमेवापि संपश्यन्कर्तुमर्हसि ॥

III. 32.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

which the rulers and the ruled alike are responsible. The fundamental ideas underlying the Dharma and the State are ultimately the same. This can be shown as follows :—

- (i) Dharma in the abstract is an entity which is both different from and above the King and the people and which is based on Universal weal. Similarly the State in the abstract is also an entity which is both different from and above the executive agency of a particular state and its people and which in addition is based on public weal. (Universal weal is concerned with the welfare of all beings, whereas public weal exclusively connotes the good of humanity alone with reference to a territorial unit).
- (ii) The Law of Dharma as embodied in the codes of conduct (Dharmasāstra) is supposed to be backed up by the power centred in the Almighty and is conducive to universal weal; in the same way the Law of the State as embodied in its constitution is thought of as being backed up by the power or what is technically known as the ' Sovereignty ' of the people and is conducive to public weal. These respective Laws are intended to be enforced

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

for the preservation and progress of the universe and the people respectively. Thus being a means to an end they are subject to alteration with the changes in the ideas of universal and public weal.

- (iii) Universal weal means what is understood to be such by the best minds whose idealism and prestige secure for them a large following in any particular country at any particular time in the course of its history. In like manner public weal also means in any state what is understood to be such by the best minds whose idealism and prestige secure for them a large following in that particular state at any particular time in the course of its history.

With the variation in the values of things the idea of universal weal undergoes a necessary change. So it is natural that its conception also should vary from age to age. In India where all questions of social organisation have always been thought of in terms of universal weal, we find, that in the Vedic age, it was supposed to consist in the worship of personified Nature in its various aspects. That at the time of the Brāhmanas, when the Vedic gods lost all their importance, universal weal was sought in the performance of sacrifices; that in the Upanishadic period the worship and meditation of

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

Impersonal God came to be viewed as conducive to universal weal; that during the age of Buddhism, it was supposed to exist in the observance of Dhamma on the one hand, and of Karmayoga on the other; and lastly, that in the middle ages it was conceived to be achieved by an adherence to the Varnāshrama Dharma as propounded by the Dharmasāstras. Thus it will be seen how the idea of universal weal as formed in one age is at variance with that as conceived in another.

Similar is the case with the idea of public weal in Europe. With the advance of civilisation and the evolution of thought its idea also undergoes a corresponding change. Thus, with the Spartans of Ancient Greece it was 'military brother-hood' which was helpful to public weal; the Athenians of the same period sought to achieve it by what Dunning calls 'Democratization'. To the Roman mind a strong and centralised world-empire appeared to secure it. During the Middle Ages it was strongly tinged by religious ideas. After Luther, due to the great classical Renaissance, the old Greek ideals were again revived and Democracy alone was sought to be conducive to public weal, and from that time onwards its study in Europe is going on till we come to the present age — the age of the League of Nations.

The conceptions of universal and public weal in any particular age and at any particular place are primarily

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

the products of the minds of the best thinkers of that particular age and place, which they want to implant on the minds of the mass of the people. The latter are very easily converted to the ideals of the former since as the Gita says:—

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवतरो जनः ।

स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥

(III. 21.)

"Whatever the superior man does, that alone is done by others. What he specifies as right, that the people follow". The similarity between the two concepts does not stop here only for with a moment's consideration it will be perceived that the one merges completely into the other: what we call public weal is a part and parcel of universal weal since as has already been observed, the former is concerned with humanity alone, whereas the latter encompasses within its fold the whole of the universe, including, it is needless to add, mankind also. It will be seen, therefore, that though working on different plans, the Indian and European thinkers, have been in reality, seeking to achieve the same noble ideals in their own peculiar ways.

The piety of the sovereign and the veneration in which he held Dharma the sacred Law, often prevented

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

him from launching upon activities which were accepted as sinful. It is not difficult to imagine the existence of God-fearing kings in ancient India when Dharma held its full sway over the minds of the people. We learn from the Upanishads and the Epics that there were such kings as Janaka, As'wapati, Rāma, Yudhishthira etc. who tried their utmost to bring down the ideals of Dharma to the practical plane.

The instinct of Self-preservation :—

The physical limitation proceeded from the instinct of self-preservation. The king in ancient India lived and moved among the people and hence by virtue of his peculiar situation he could not very much maltreat them which if effected would endanger his very life. Moreover, in those days of fierce competition when petty feudatory princes actuated by ambition rivalled with one another for power and extension of their dominions, every king expected at every moment an external attack from his enemy or enemies and against such an invasion the only sure protection or the shield was the good-will and loyalty of his subjects which he always strove to procure. The smallness of the state also, very easily conduced to maintain the uniformity of public opinion which, if floated by the monarch, would entail an universal and speedy excitement resulting in the general outbreak. And hence it was that the voice of the people

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

carried some weight with the king especially in such cases as the installation of the heir-apparent. We learn from the Rāmāyana that Rāma was consecrated as the Yuwarāja at the wishes of the people. There, we are told, that enamoured of Rāma's princely qualities all the citizens of the state resolved that he should be appointed as the Yuwarāja. With this decision they all waited upon Das'aratha and said :—

स रामं युवराजानमभिषिचस्व पार्थिव ।
इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महाबलम् ॥

"Consecrate, Oh King, Rāma as the Yuwarāja, for, we wish the valiant and the powerful one for that office." The good old king wondering for a moment at this sudden development, joyfully welcomed the proposal, and lost no time in passing orders for the preparations of his favourite son's installation ceremony. It is worthy of note that the king was beside himself with joy knowing that the people themselves were interested in having Rāma as their crowned prince.¹ Quite opposite was said to have been the case with king Pratāpa of Udyoga-parwan. The aged monarch yielded to the popular voice though with great reluctance in not having Devāpi,

1. Ayodhya Kanda.

2. अहोर्जिस्म परमप्रौढः प्रभावशालुस्तो मम ।

यन्मे रामं प्रियं पुत्रं वीवरानस्थामिच्छत ॥ 1343

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

his eldest and the virtuous son, as their Yuvarāja, since in the opinion of his people he was unfit to hold the reins of government as he suffered from a skin-disease. Sagara also followed the same course. He was compelled to exile Asamanjasa, his eldest son, at the desire of his people who were very much distressed at the devilish hobby of the prince of drowning their children in the river S'arayu (S'ānti-Paryan). Thus it was that abuses of royal power were curbed by these two restrictions.

In view of these safe-guards against despotism, the position of kings in ancient India, must not have been quite so enviable. Any dutiful ruler of those times must have felt like Chandragupta of the *Mudrārākshasa* when he says :—

राज्यं हि नाम राजधर्मानुश्रुतिपरस्य नृपतेर्नैदृद्वितीयोतिष्ठानम् । कुलः ।
परार्थानुष्ठानं रक्षति नृपं स्वाधेपरता ।
वरिष्ठतस्वार्थो नियतमदधार्थो क्षितिपतिः ॥
परार्थेष्टस्वार्थोऽभिमततरो हन्त परवान् ।
परायत्नः प्रीतेः क्वमिदं रसं वाँत्त पुरुषः¹ ॥

¹ The state indeed is a great source of anxiety to the

1. *Mudrārākshasa*, Act III. 4. Cf. *Idid.* Act III. 5, and also
नातिभ्रमापन्नयनाय युष्मा अधमाय ।
राज्यं स्वहस्तपूतदण्डमिवातपन्नम् ॥

S'akuntala, Act V. 5.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

king who conscientiously applies himself to the duties of his royal office. For, he has to forego his own interests in achieving those of others, as (otherwise), the epithet of the protector of the Earth (भूमिपतिः) would certainly turn out bogus, devoid of its proper connotation. If therefore, he prefers the interests of others to his own, alas, (then), he is a slave, and how can one that is a slave of others taste (the fruit of) personal enjoyment? "

Besides, often inspired by the Patriarchal Ideal the king in ancient India must have toiled for the realisation of one immediate goal - the welfare of the subjects. This solicitude of the king for the well-being of his own people is brought out in the Rāmāyana in that famous incident of Rāma's abandonment of Sita¹. The subjects on their part must have stood equal to the occasion by offering undivided fealty and submission to their benevolent protectors. No wonder that centuries afterwards, Kālidāsa, the princely poet of India, paid an eloquent tribute to such a grand kingly ideal in these immortal lines. :—

समुत्तनिरभिलाषः सिद्धये लोकहेतोः ।
प्रतिदिनमधवा ते वृत्तिरेवमिषेव ॥

1. This lofty sentiment has been very beautifully expressed by the Rame of Bhavabhuti.

Cf. स्नेहं दयां च सौहृदं च यदि वा जानकीमपि ।

आराधनाय लोकस्य मुञ्चतो नास्ति मे व्यथा ॥ U. II Act I.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

अनुभवति हि मूर्धो पादपस्तीव्रमुष्णं ।
शमयति परितपं छावया संश्रितानाम् ॥
नियमयति विमार्गप्रस्थिनात्तदण्डः ।
प्रशमयति विवादं कल्पते रक्षणाय ॥
अतनुषु विभवेषु शतयः सन्तु नाम ।
त्वयि तु परिसमाप्तं बन्धुहृत्यं प्रजानाम्^१ ॥

We may venture to suggest in this context, that during that long period which immediately succeeds the composition of the *Bṛhmagā* and terminates with the invasion of Alexander, the political life of India might have been more or less characterised by stable and undespotic government².

1. *Sakuntalam*, Act V, Sla. 7-8.

2. with the exception of the great Mahabharata war.



III

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY (Contd.)

Ancient Hindu monarchy not constitutional or limited - No recognition of Civil Liberty in the modern sense of the term - The King not subservient to the will of the people - And hence not their servant - Ancient Indian Kingship a benevolent institution - Its characteristics - Our line of enquiry in the Arthashastra of Kautilya.

In view of the limitations of Dharma and the instinct of self-preservation on royal authority the kings in ancient India had to become restrained in its exercise. This fact tended to make the monarchy of the times a benevolent institution. It could hardly be a limited or constitutional monarchy as scholars like Jaysawal, Banerjee and others are inclined to believe. The former was assuredly divested of the democratic implications of the latter. For in the first place, the ancient Hindu polity never recognised 'Civil Liberty'—one of the most essential requisites of constitutional monarchy and also of democracy - as we understand it today. That is to say it attempted to safe-guard the 'rights' of an individual only against his fellow-beings and not against the highest executive authority of the land, the king himself. This

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

is borne out by the fact that while the ancient political thinkers and law-givers of India made full provisions to protect the rights of an individual against the encroachments of another individual, they refrained from making such legal arrangements to safe-guard his rights against the King or the State. Of course in order to prevent the King from violating the Dharma or from erring in the discharge of his duties, the authors of the Dharmaśāstra and the Arthaśāstra schools prescribed certain acts of atonement exclusively for the royal person, but these were entirely expiatory penalties and hence religious in their spirit. For instance, Vasistha says :—

कुपयामदण्डदण्डने पुरोहितः । त्रिरात्रं राजा¹॥

"When a violence person is punished the Purohita shall undergo self-immolation, and the King shall (observe fast) for three days." Manu lays down that a king should be fined a thousand Kāśhapāṇas where an ordinary person is fined but one Pana.² "When the king", observes Kaṇvilya, "punishes an innocent man he shall dedicate to God Varuṇa, a fine amounting to thirty times the unjust imposition, by throwing it into water; and this amount he shall afterwards distribute among Brāhmaṇas".³ Being thus pure expiations these provi-

1. XIX. 42-43.

2. VIII. 836.

3. Arthaśāstra P. 236. Manu also suggests the same method of distributing the proceeds of such fines. See IX. 244.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

sions therefore, cannot be treated as constitutional weapons calculated to protect the legitimate rights of the subjects against the king. So, if at all the ancient Hindu Polity ever took cognizance of 'Civil Liberty', it did so in a very restricted sense and a narrow conception of Civil Liberty is surely, no mark of constitutional monarchy.

In the second place, the king was viewed as deriving his authority from Dharma and not from the people. For, according to the theory of origin of Kingship which we examined in the last chapter, the king was thought to have been specially created by the Divine will for the preservation of peace and order in the world of men. In virtue of this unique position which the King enjoyed, his authority was considered as inviolable and his person as being beyond the control of all human regulative agencies, and as such he was looked upon as the symbol of Dharma, or the Image of God, and hence it was that he was often compared to or identified with the Supreme Being.

This theory of his Divine creation and the belief in his unimpeachable prowess was not a myth, not a figment, but a living reality to the people of ancient India whose minds were swayed by a strong sense of Dharma—the all-pervading Sacred Law. What people

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

thought and felt about the institution of Kingship, was simply given expression to both by Mann and the author of the Śānti parvan. This to our mind appears to have been the true position of these authors who have been but falsely compared to the European Fathers of the Middle Ages as being the Advocates of absolutism¹.

But though high, the royal office was not regardless of responsibility. The failure to discharge his duties enjoined upon him by Dharma was supposed to bring about his total destruction. The king in ancient India

1. Jayswal seems to think that Mann's theory was his own invention when he says, "For this theory the author found no direct support in earlier literature". We do not subscribe to the view of the learned scholar. For this theory is not only found in Mann but it occurs also in the Mahābhārata more or less in the same words. (Cf. Śānti XIV). But this does not mean that one is the borrower of the other. Probably both of them derived it from some common source for, as Dr. Kailāś Nag observes, "They appear to have come from that mysterious source of Hindu wisdom — Oral tradition which transmitted a vast collection of floating truth long before the schools and the schoolmen". (Diplomatic Theories of the Hindus). And this statement stands confirmed when we find that the conception of the divinity of the King is as old as the Vedas. For as we referred already in the last chapter, the germs of the theory appear in the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda (III — 3, III. 4, IV. 22) and also in the Brāhmaṇas. In the face of this great antiquity of the theory, it is absurd to believe that it was Mann's fabrication to 'preach perfect absolutism'.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

was normally absolute. But when his absolutism was carried to its extremity he fell a victim to the righteous indignation of an oppressed people. This however should not be thought of as having any democratic significance as after the removal of the tyrannical ruler he was merely to be replaced by another who became an absolute monarch like his predecessor. This concerted action of the people against their oppressor was nothing more than a manifest demonstration of that spirit of defiance which is equally innate in man and the creatures of the lower world and as such it could not be called a violent popular gesture born of a political motive. It was the instinct of revolt in man which naturally reacted against the autocratic actions of the tyrant. What we mean here is that the people in ancient India resorted to tyrannicide not actuated by the consciousness that the delinquent ruler infringed on their legitimate rights, but impelled by some unknown force which was believed to operate against the monarch the moment he violated the Dharma. In other words, it was this inexorable Dharma which was conceived to bring absolute ruin upon him for having disregarded its dictates. This idea is clearly

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

brought out by Manu. While describing the potency of Danda — the visible manifestation of Dharma¹ — he observes :—

दण्डो हि सुमदत्तेनो दुर्भरश्चाकृतात्मभिः ।
धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सशान्धवम् ॥

“ The mighty and majestic Danda, which is difficult for the wicked to wield, smother the King, swerving from (the path of) Dharma, together with his family ”. Yena, the great tyrant of the Mahābhārata was deposed and killed since he grievously sinned against Dharma. Similar was conceived to have been the case with Nahus² and Duryodhana. What we want to point out here is that it was Dharma and not the people, which was considered to punish an erring monarch. This belief of the people in the existence of some vindictive super-mundane power unmistakably indicates that Kingship was looked upon as a trust not from the people, but from God which fact proves that the King was amenable only to the will of God and not to that of the people.

1. Cf. तस्यायै सर्वे भूतानां गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् ।

अकृतेजोभवे दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमाश्रितः ॥ VII. 14.

And also दण्डः शास्ति प्रजाः सर्वो दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।

दण्डः सुमनु जागर्ति दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ Ibid 18.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

The king in ancient India was not responsible to the people because he was never looked upon as their servant. The conception of the king as a slave of the people, was a principle quite unknown to the political thought of ancient India as Indologists like Banerjee, Jaysawal, Sarkar and others are inclined to believe.¹ They base their conclusions on such passages as :—

१. षड्भागभृतो राजा रक्षेप्रजाम्^२ ।

२. स्वभागभृत्वा दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः ।

वद्वणा स्वामिभ्यस्तु पातनार्थं हि सर्वदा^३ ॥

saying that the taxes were regarded as the 'Wages' of the King for the services rendered to the state. Of course the taxes, in the opinion of the ancient Hindus, formed the 'reward'⁴ or remuneration, and not the 'wages' of the king as is generally believed. But drawing remuneration from the people on the part of the King did not necessarily imply his corresponding responsibility to them. His position was just like a government servant who regularly receives his salary from the

1. Says Dr. Banerjee "the conception of the King as the servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India".—Public Administration in Ancient India p. 72. — Vide PP 174-176 in Prod : Sarkar's "The Political Institutions & Theories of the Hindus".

२. Baudhayan. I. १०.१.

३. Śukraśāstrī — I. १८५.

४. Narada. XVIII. १५.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

public treasury but is in no way responsible to the officers of the treasury. The king was conceived to have been appointed by God to protect the people and as such was directly responsible to Him for whatever he did. As their guardian, the subjects were ordained to maintain the King by a regular contribution of a fixed share of their income. Says Gautama : राज्ञो बलिदानं तद्वस्त्र-धर्मिणात्¹— "For his duty of protection the king shall be given the Bali taxes". The king was authorised by *Dharma* to exact the taxes from the people, in return for the services of promoting the safety and prosperity of his subjects and so for fulfilling his duty to achieve the solidarity and progress of the Universe. Thus according to the ancient Hindu polity the King was primarily the servant of God and as such was remunerated by his Master who enjoined upon the people to pay their common benefactor a certain share of the produce. So the revenue formed the royal privilege or the right and not the wages as has been generally interpreted. To support their thesis that in ancient India the taxes were regarded as the wages of the king, the following verse from *S'ukraśāstrī* is invariably quoted by these scholars:—

स्वभागभूत्वा दास्यन्ते प्रजानो न वृषः कृतः ।
वदन्तां स्वामिरप्यस्तु बालमार्यं हि सर्वदा ॥

1. Gautama, X. 24 and 25.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

"Brahma created the king to be the master (of the people) for the purpose of (their) protection. But in so far as he receives his remuneration (from them) in the form of taxes, he is (their) servant". But this verse should not be taken too literally. It gives a mere metaphorical interpretation of the position of the king. From the second line of the couplet it is evident that S'ukra advocates the theory of the Divine origin of the king, which as noticed already, considers the ruler to be subservient to none else than God himself."

But one may object :— what about the theory of "contract" between the king and the people postulated in the Mahābhārata and repeated in the Arthasāstra of Kaṭilya? If this theory was an accepted truth to the ancient Hindus, then how was it that the king was viewed as being irresponsible to the people? To this question our reply is that the ancient political philosophy of India never took notice of the theory that contrived to lend a secular colouring to the institution of kingship. In fact the so-called 'theory of contract' of the Mahābhārata which we have stated in the preceding chapter¹ does not contemplate any 'contract' between the king and the people in the real sense of the term. For, in the first place, the king (Meno), according to the theory, was not *elected* by the people, but was

¹ This moreover, is a much later work. (1 B. 13.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

appointed by God; and in the second place, he was not bound by any conditions before he accepted the royal office. Whatever things the people offered to Manu were offered by way of inducement, and not by way of conditions. For, the theory definitely maintains that he was at first unwilling to agree to the proposal of taking the responsibility of protecting the people on his own shoulders, but when he was enticed by valuable presents, he at once took charge of the office. So according to the theory, the first king of mankind, as specified by God, accepted his office unconditionally and that means without any contract which on its part implies that he was in no way bound to the people. He was never considered as their servant, firstly because, he was appointed by God to protect them, and secondly because, he was himself a semi-divine being and as such was beyond the jurisdiction of man. These are all the implications of the theory. Even this theory therefore, does not conceive of the sovereign as a slave of the subjects. In ascribing the appointment of Manu to the Divine will it implicitly assumes that the king is ultimately answerable to God. In this connection we cannot but take note of the *Partijuk* or the 'coronation oath'¹ which was first said to

1. प्रतिज्ञां वाधिरोहस्य मनसः कर्मणा मिरा ।
पालविभ्याम्यहं नीम वद्ध इत्येव वासकृत् ॥
यथाव्रथमौ नीत्सुक्तो दग्धनीतिर्व्यपाभवः ।
तमशङ्कं करिष्यामि स्ववशी न कदाचन ॥

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

have been administered to Prithu, the successor of Vena, the oppressive sovereign of the Mahābhārata. According to Jayaswal the oath is a distinct indication of the existence of the idea of a contract at the base of the Hindu conception of Kingship, since by pronouncing it, the king, before ascending the throne, promises his faithfulness 'to the law established' and his subserviency to the will of the people. But if at all the oath can be called a "contract", it is a contract not between the ruler and the ruled but between him and the Dharma. For the king swears his loyalty not to the people but to Dharma when he repeats :—

यथावदस्मै नीत्युक्तो ह्यधर्मातिम्वराध्वः ।
तमसद्गं करिष्यामि स्वयतो न कदाचन ॥

"In conformity with the science of government, I shall, without reservation, observe Dharma as is enunciated here by ethics and shall never be arbitrary". By declaring 'I shall never be arbitrary', he evidently means that he would never act of his own accord without any reference to Dharma. Again, the oath is to be administered to the would-be-king by the representatives of spiritual power. King Prithu of the Mahābhārata was made to take the vow by the gods and sages; in the Rāmāyana it was Vasishtha, who administered the oath to Rāma; and in subsequent times, as is evident from history, the same tradition was invariably followed by all the

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

kings. The very fact that the vow is administered to the ruler by *spiritual authorities* and not by (the representatives of) *the people*, indicates with pretty certainty that the conditions constituting the oath are primarily proposed by Dharma and consequently it follows that the ruler is ultimately responsible to it only for its observance.

As to Kautilya, he mentions two theories, one the so called 'Contract' theory¹ of the Mahābhārata and the other the Divine theory². But we cannot say with Dr. Banerjee that Kautilya "is a believer in the human creation of the state".

1. मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मरुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे । धान्य-
वद्भागं पद्मदशमार्गं द्विरर्ग्वं चाप्य मगधेयं प्रकल्पयामासुः । तेन
भूता राजानः प्रजानां योगधेमवदाः ।

"Oppressed by anarchy, the people made Vaisvata Manu their king. They fixed one-sixth of the produce and one-tenth of merchandises in cash, as his remuneration. With this much as their salary the kings secure the safety and prosperity of the people".

2. इन्द्रयमस्थानमेतत् । राजानः प्रत्यक्षदेवप्रसादाः । तान्वमन्व-
मानान्देवोऽपि दण्डः शृणोति । तस्माद्राजानो नावमन्तम्वाः ।

"This (i. e. Royalty) is the seat of Indra and Yama. Kings are anger and terror incarnate. Even divine punishment descends on those who disregard them. And hence the kings should never be disobeyed.

Arthashastra p. 23.

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

If it be argued that he is the upholder of this theory it can equally be contended that he believes in the conception of the divine creation of the king. This view looks more plausible, when we remember that Kaṭilya is the greatest advocate of hereditary monarchy. But to our mind it appears that he neither believes the one nor the other. Being thoroughly a practical politician he exclusively occupies himself with the art of governing the state, and not with the pedantic speculations over its origin. The citation of both these views is nothing more than a typical Kaṭilyan expediency of winning over the disaffected elements in the kingdom by arguments and counter-arguments advanced through the spies of the king before an assemblage of people. Beyond the passages in question signifying nothing else.*

From the above discussion we arrived at the following conclusions: firstly, that in ancient India, civil liberty was recognised in a very limited sense of the state affording protection to its subjects as against other individuals, and secondly that the sovereign was regarded as being ultimately responsible to God. These two main features of the monarchical institution of the times clearly show that the king, in theory at least, exercised unqualified authority and as far as his kingdom was

* The very context in which the theories are cited clearly shows that Kaṭilya could not have thought seriously as to their validity.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

concerned, there was no single human agency which could question him. But as we saw in the preceding chapter, he abstained from growing absolute, for his power was practically circumscribed by the conventional limitations of Dharma and the instinct of self-preservation. These two often kept him within the bounds of moderation and thus made his rule one of enlightened despotism.

The following were its most outstanding characteristics:—

- (i) The king was the highest executive authority in the state.
- (ii) His duties mainly consisted of taking protective measures.
- (iii) He enjoyed absolute sovereignty and hence provided a very narrow scope for the enjoyment of Civil Liberty.
- (iv) His power however, was restricted by two (unconstitutional) limitations of Dharma and the instinct of self-preservation.
- (v) In its general nature the ancient Indian Kingship was benevolent.

Now it is admitted on all hands that Kautilya was the foremost exponent of the Ancient Indian State-craft. We shall therefore, in the following pages, start an

THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

enquiry into the Arthas'āstra of Kautilya, so as to determine to what extent, the Kautilyan conception of Kingship either conforms with or differs from the one which we discussed so far.

We will carry our critical examination of the Arthas'āstra in the light of the five broad characteristics of the Hindu monarchy which we have mentioned just above.



IV

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ARTHAS'ASTRA.

Royalty, the element of vital importance in the constitution of the State — King's relation to Dharma — The training of the prince — Importance of Vinaya or discipline and continence — The Kautilyan king advised to enjoy sensual pleasures with due moderation — The duties of the king which mainly consist of taking disciplinary & protective measures with regard to the people and provide them with every opportunity of realising the three ends of human existence.

Royal sovereignty — King, the fountain-head of all authority, the various State-functionaries being merely his deputies created out of his will — All the available natural resources claimed in the name of the king — Civil liberty very narrowly recognised, individuals being protected from the encroachments of his fellow-subjects and the government officials as representing their own selves, and not from that of the royal person — The public of the state of the Arthas'astra not vested with the right of taxation, of enforcing their will either on internal or external affairs of the state, the king being the sole proprietor thereof.

The objects—Kautilya's is primarily an economic State—His subordination of Dharma to Artha — Though he believes in the efficacy of Dharma, still as an ardent upholder of the tenets of the Arthas'astra School, he thinks Dharma to be of secondary importance — This shows the influence of Dharma on the mind of his king is getting weaker — The king advised to identify his

THE ANTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

interests with the people with a view to secure the stability of his govt. — The character of the king the greatest barrier against despotism.

Importance of the King.

A great monarchist that Kautilya is, it is but natural that he should assign to the king the highest position in the state. Along with his predecessors Kautilya believes that the king is the saviour of a disorganised world. "In the absence of the king," he says, "exercising coercive authority, the strong would over-power the weak; but while backed up by him the latter would (easily) prevail over the former":—

बलीयानवले हि पश्यते दण्डनराभावे । तेन दुष्टः प्रभवतीति ।

In his opinion, the presence of the king not only ensures the safety of the weak, but what is more, it conduces to the healthy growth of the social order. For, he further observes:—

चतुर्वर्णाधमो लोको राज्ञ दण्डेन पाल्यः ।

सर्वमर्कमाभिरतो वर्तते चेष्टु चार्थम् ॥

"The people with their four orders and stages, when protected by a king administering the law of chastisement, are kept on their proper path, being attentive to their respective duties and professions". Hence it is that

1. Page 9.

2. P. 9.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

the Swāmin or the sovereign comes first in order of merit in the list of the seven constituent elements of the State :— साम्यमालङ्कनपददुर्गन्धोदण्डमिवानि प्रकृतयः¹ ।

This tabular arrangement our author justifies in a later chapter of the Arthasāstra. There, while controverting the view of Bhāradwāja who maintains that ministerial calamity is relatively more grave than what befalls the king, Kaṇva says :— मंत्रिपुरोहितदि भूयवर्गमध्यक्षप्रचारं पुरोषद्वयस्य सर्वं प्रतीकारमेवमेव राजैव कथेति ।... ..

सामी च सम्पन्नः स्वसंपत्तिः प्रकृतीस्सम्पादयति² । स्वयं च यच्छील-
साचल्यः प्रकृतयो भवन्ति । उत्थाने प्रमादे च तदवस्थात्³ । तत्कृ-
तस्वामी हि सामीति⁴ ।

"The king alone makes the appointment of the prime-minister, the High priest and other officials of the state including several departmental superintendents, removes the troubles relating to army and finance, and takes measures conducive to their

1. P. 257.

2. Cf. also

सम्पादयत्यसम्पन्नः प्रकृतीरात्मवाचुषः ।

विपदाश्चतुर्हदाश्च प्रकृतीर्हन्त्यनात्मवान् ॥

P. 259.

3. Cf.

राजानमुत्तिष्ठमानमनुत्तिष्ठन्ते नृत्वाः । प्रमाद्यन्तमनुप्रमादयन्ति ।

P. 37.

4. P. 321.

growth. Moreover, an accomplished monarch imparts his native excellences to the elements. Of whatever character he himself is, of that will be the eternal categories, for on him depend (their) activity and inactivity. Therefore the Lord occupies the highest position (in the body politic)". The designation of royalty as the foremost element in the ingredients of the state does not however, seem to have satisfied Kautilya, the arch-monarchist of Ancient India. For, he goes a step further and regards it as inevitable a factor in the formation of the state as the territory itself (Cf. राजा-राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंज्ञेयः¹) and thus implies that it is *de facto* the state. It is no wonder therefore, that in his extreme solicitude for the safety of the monarch he should devote four special chapters instructing the king how to take precautionary measures to shield his person against the secret workings of enemies, the vagaries of the princess, and the intrigues of the harem.²

King and the Dharma.

Kautilya appears to believe with the exponents of the Dharmaśāstra school, that the king, though the lord

1. P. 325

2. The chapters in question are—राजपुत्ररक्षणम् , अवरुद्धावरुद्धे-
कृतिः, निशान्तप्रणिधिः, and आत्मरक्षितम्.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

of his people, is primarily subservient to Dharma — the abstract moral Law universal and eternal that guides and regulates the relations of man. The main duty that is imposed by Dharma on his royal office, is the protection of the people. But it is secured only when the social order is kept unadulterated by obliging the members of the four divisions to perform their respective duties allotted to them by the Supreme Law. If one were to observe one's own duties in life, that act would surely lead one to heaven and eternity. [स्वधर्मः स्वर्गादान-
न्याय च¹ १]. (This rule, it should be observed, is equally applicable to the king and his subjects). But if the king neglects to perform this duty then the world would go to rack and ruin. Thus Kautilya observes : तस्यातिक्रमे लोक-
संकरादुचिष्येत² १ "when it is violated the society would perish on account of the confusion (of duties)". Therefore, according to Kautilya, the royal duty or Dharma amounts to the attainment of the stability of the social order which is tantamount to carrying out of the duty

1 P. 8. Cf. स्वर्गान्नस्याय धर्मोऽयं सर्वेषां वर्गोऽस्मिनाम् ॥

The *Misaka* of Kautilya, Ch. II. 23.

and also स्वधर्मस्वधर्मो विदुः परधर्मोऽप्यनुष्ठितः ।

Ota.

2 P. 8. Cf. also अस्याभावे तु लोकैर्ध्वं संकराग्राममाप्नुयात् ॥

Misaka II. 23.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA

imposed by the Supreme Dharma. In this way implicitly Kautilya conceives the king to be equally subject to the laws of Dharma along with his people.

Education of the king.

To qualify himself for such an office which is the highest in the realm, Kautilya would require of the king-designate to be endowed with all possible moral and cultural attainments. Hence the author, at the very beginning of his work, is seen taking great pains at chalking out a regular course of training for the prince to undergo.

According to Kautilya the supreme object of the state appears to be the realisation of the threefold end of human existence on the part of its subjects. This can only be gained through the proper exercise of the authority of punishment vested in the king. "Skillful exercise," says Kautilya, "of the coercive power (danda) endows the people with virtue, wealth and enjoyment"— सुविज्ञातप्रणीतो हि दण्डः प्रजा धर्मायैकमेवोपजयति¹. But it is discipline (Vinaya) that chastens the harshness of Danda which when subdued or backed up by Vinaya becomes capable of assuring the safety and prosperity of living beings:— विनयमूलो दण्डः प्राणवृत्तौ योगक्षेमावहः².

1. P. 9.

2. P. 10.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

But discipline on its part is dependent on learning (*Vidyā*) [तन्मूलकान्विनयस्य¹] and hence a king should first of all go through a proper course of education and discipline.

In his childhood the prince shall be taught writing and arithmetic. After the *Upanayana* ceremony he shall learn the triple Vedas and the science of Logic under the guidance of well-versed teachers; the science of Economics (*Varta*) under different superintendents of government departments and the science of governance under professors and practical politicians (वृत्तप्रयोगकुम्भः). When a youth, the prince shall duly get himself married, and with a view to train himself more, shall always associate himself with the veterans of state-craft. But what is most important of all is that he shall practice self-control or what is called the "restraint of the organs of sense" since it is said that self-mastery is the means for the (successful) attainment of learning and discipline [विद्याविनयहेतुरिन्द्रियजयः²]. Kautilya lays very great stress on this particular aspect of a king's character when he declares:— तद्विरुद्धवृत्तिरवदरेन्द्रियव्यासुरन्तोऽपि राजा सद्यो विनश्यति. ³ " A king having his conduct quite reverse to the one who has restrained his senses, and with the

1. P. 10.

2. P. 11.

3. P. 11.

THE ARTHASĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

passions uncontrolled, even though possessed of a wide Empire (reaching the four quarters—चतुरन्तोऽपि) perishes forthwith".¹

Cultivating the art of self-mastery the king, in the opinion of Chāṇakya, shall never covet women and wealth pertaining to others. He shall avoid excessive sleep, untruth and association with things harmful. He shall also keep himself away from dealings (व्यवहाराः) which involve unrighteousness and calamity. Here it should not be surmised that by emphasising self-control Kautilya teaches a life of complete abstinence for the king just after the fashion of Plato, his Greek contemporary. According to him material joys have their own place and importance in a man's life. It is the life of excessive indulgence or extreme asceticism that meets with downright condemnation at his hands. He thinks but rightly that a king or a man in general, should enjoy earthly happiness without transgressing the bounds of propriety or in other words, without jeopardising the

1. This point has been emphasised by all the law-givers and political thinkers of ancient India. Even Brhaspati, the greatest exponent of the Hedonistic school, appears to have recognised the value of continence with reference to the sovereign. According to him it seems to be the essential royal requisite. Thus he says "आत्मवान् राजा" 1.1.

Brhaspati's Arthasāstra.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

interests of Dharma and Artha. Thus he observes :—
धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निस्तुल्यस्यात् । समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्यो-
न्यानुबन्धम् । एषो ह्यत्याश्रितो धर्मार्थकामानामात्मानमितरो च
पीडयति¹ ।

"A King shall never indulge in sensual enjoyment to the detriment of Dharma and Artha. He shall never be devoid of pleasure. Or he shall equally attend to the triple ends which follow each other in succession. For, if of virtue, wealth and enjoyment, any one is inordinately pursued, it will become injurious to itself and the remaining two". Another thing Kaṇṇilya wants to impress upon the mind of the king is the importance of exertion. "It is exertion or industriousness", says he, "which is mainly responsible for bringing in new acquisitions and prosperity to the king" [कर्मोद्यमश्चो वागाराधना
स्वायामः²]. Hence, the king being the chief mastery or the vital life of the body-politic, should be always alert and energetic for otherwise according to Kaṇṇilya the whole

1. P. 19. Cf.

सेवेत विषयान्धाते मुक्ता तापरतां वशी ।

सुखं हि कलमयेष्व ताजरोच वृषा धियः ॥ ४९ ॥

धर्मार्थोद्वेगः कामः कामास्तुल्यफलदैवः ।

आत्मानं हन्ति तौ ह्यवा मुक्ताव ऽप्यो न निर्वेत्त ॥ ५१ ॥

Kaṇṇilya, Ch. 1.

2. P. 189.

system would become stagnant and poisonous. He says:-
राजानमुत्तिष्ठमानमनुत्तिष्ठन्ते सूत्राः । प्रमाद्यन्तमनुप्रमाद्यन्ति । कर्मणि
चास्य भक्षयन्ति । द्विषद्भिर्धातिसंघोष्यते । तस्मादनुत्थानमात्मनः कुर्वीत¹ ।

"If a king is industrious his subjects will also be industrious. If he is indolent, they will not only become indolent but will also hamper (*Lis-oa*) his projects and (thus) he will be overpowered by his enemies. Hence he shall be (always) energetic". In a later chapter therefore, while enumerating the excellences of a king,² Kautilya counts upon ' zeal ' (*यदोत्साहः*) and ' alertness '

1. P. 17, also Cf.

अनुत्थाने भुवो नासः प्राप्तस्यानागतस्य च ।
प्राप्यते कलमुत्थानाज्जमत आधेरोपदम ॥

P. 30.

2. The following are the chief possessions of a king, which according to Kautilya would enable him to properly perform the duties of the State :-

" Noble birth, non-fatalistic turn of mind, valour, ability to see through the eyes of equal persons, love of virtue and truth, straightforwardness, gratefulness, comprehensiveness of outlook, enthusiasm, promptitude, resoluteness of spirit, love for discipline, sharp intellect, a strong memory and mind, a well-built stature, versatility, ability to confer rewards and inflict punishments, capability to guard against dangers, dignity, fore-sight, readiness to avail one's self of opportunities, resourcefulness, freedom from passion, anger, greed, and such other vices; a beaming countenance, and the observance of traditional usages and customs "

PP. 257-258.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

(अदीर्घसूत्री) as the foremost qualities of a king. Thus having equipped himself with moral and cultural education the king shall discharge the following duties of the State :—

- (i) Protection of life and property of the subjects, especially of the weak against the tyranny of the strong. In fact, according to Kaṇṇiṭya as according to his predecessors, the king is primarily designed to put an end to the 'Māethyanāyān' or that condition where the weak are oppressed by the strong [Cf. बलीयानबले हि प्रचले दण्डधराभावे । P. 9, and also Cf. मात्स्यस्यायानिभूताः प्रजा मनुं देव सतं राजानं चरिरे । P. 33].
- (ii) To make the people realise the three ends of worldly existence, namely, Dharma, Artha, and Kāma, by establishing them in the observance of their respective duties in life. But this is secured only when he wields the law of punishment in a reasonable manner (सुविज्ञात-प्रवीतो हि दण्डः प्रजा धर्मार्थकामैर्वीजयति । 1.1. Loyal to their duties again would lead them to a brighter existence even after death for it is said "One's own duty leads one to Heaven

and eternity—स्वधर्मस्वर्गोदानन्त्याय च. Violation of duty would entail confusion which in its train would bring in the disintegration of society. "Hence" observes Kautilya, "the king should not cause the people to swerve from their duties, for one who upholds one's own duty becomes happy here and hereafter:—

तस्मात्स्वधर्मं भूतानां राजा न म्यनिवारयेत्
स्वधर्मं संस्थानो हि देवैः वेदं च नन्दति¹ ॥

- (iii) To deal out justice in strict conformity to the principles of equity by punishing the offenders and redressing the wrongs done to the innocent. The king is to mete out punishment to the wicked by means of Danda on which, according to Kautilya, depends the course of worldly life - तस्मादायत्तात्योक्तवान्². One ought to be strictly impartial in making a proper use of Danda which so used becomes all-powerful. Says Kautilya :—

दण्डो हि केवलो लोकं परं नेमं च रक्षति ।

राज्ञा पुत्रे च शत्रो च यथादीपं समं धृतः³ ॥

"Danda alone, if wielded by a king with equity and in proportion to the crime committed,

1. P. 6.
2. P. 9
3. P. 110.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

equally over his son and his enemy is capable of securing this and the next world." So powerful is Dharma or justice. It not only serves to sustain the two worlds, but is also instrumental in taking the king to a brighter existence as Kautilya further remarks :

"The observance of the duty of the king which consists in protecting the subjects with justice, leads him to heaven" — राज्ञः स्वधर्मस्त्वर्थाय प्रजा धर्मेण राक्षतुः¹ ।

- (iv) To offer relief to the decrepit, old and the indigent. Kautilya seems to have regarded the king, quite in the manner of the Dharmaśāstras, as the guardian of the helpless and of orphans. And hence it is that he urges upon the king either to feed them or to provide them with work if necessary. Thus he says :—बालवृद्ध-
व्याधितव्यसन्वनायाश्च राजा विभुयात् । श्रियमप्रजालं
प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान् ।² "The king shall feed the
(parentless) children, the aged, the distressed
and the helpless. He shall also maintain the
forlorn women and the children born of them".
Again, it is up to the king to grant concessions

1. P. 159

2. P. 17.

to the destitute and the wretched where necessary. (For instance, Kautilya directs the state to provide them with a free passage while crossing the rivers, lakes etc;¹ and in another place he positively enjoins upon the king to give precedence to the plaints of the afflicted and the needy along with the privileged classes, excepting such cases as demand urgency and speedy settlement.² Further-more, the king is in duty bound to help such women of some social position as are rendered helpless through adverse circumstances, and thus are compelled to work for their subsistence, by providing them with such work as is suitable to their status and strength³.

1. Cf. वाङ्मन्यप्रवर्जितबालवृद्धव्याधितशासनगमिष्यो नावाध्यक्ष-
मुद्राभिस्तरेषु ॥

P. 127.

2. Cf. उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामद्वाराभवे कार्येव ।
..... तस्मादेवताध्ययपापवृद्धोद्विगपशुपुत्र्यस्वानानां बालवृद्ध-
व्याधितव्यसन्वनाथानां स्त्रीणां च कनेन कार्यार्थि पश्येत् । कार्य-
मीरवादात्मिकवशेन वा ।

P. 32.

3. Thus, in the chapter on 'Sutradikyaśha', Kautilya instructs the king to help such women with the work of carding and weaving. Vide p. 114.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

- (v) To promote agriculture by supplying the needs of cultivators and rendering them all sort of active assistance.¹
- (vi) To take emergency measures in times of drought and thus to save the people from its harrowing concomitants. According to Kautilya, as a precautionary measure to prevent famine, the king shall keep in reserve half of the stock of royal food-stuff gathered either from the crown lands or the taxes (Cf. लोडर्षमापदर्थं जनपदानां स्वापयेत् P. 95)².

1. Vide the chapter on 'Janapadanivasa' where the king is advised to help the peasants by offering them the remission of taxes and providing them with grain and cattle.

2. To alleviate the intensity of famines the king, is to act as follows:— "During dearth he may oblige (the people) by bestowing seeds and corns or by providing them with famine-relief-work; or may either dole out or distribute (the royal food-stuff), or may send them away to another part (of his kingdom?). He may seek the assistance of his allies or emancipate the rich or tap their hoardings. Or he may migrate with all his subjects to another's district which has yielded good crops or may take resort either to the sea-shore or to the banks of the lakes or rivers. He may introduce a fresh plantation of corns, vegetables, roots, and fruits in the irrigated areas or may undertake the hunting of deer, beasts, wild animals, and the fish".

P. 208.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA

Besides these regular duties, the king is called upon to maintain and encourage the Śrotriyas, Brāhmanas, and the students in their religious pursuits.

From the views of Kautilya on regal duties as given above, it seems that he primarily looks upon the king as the guardian of his subjects. He appears to conceive of the essence of royal duties as comprising in the protective and disciplinary measures to be taken for the solidarity and progress of the community committed to his care, by offering all possible opportunities to its individuals for the attainment of the three 'Puruṣārthas'.

ROYAL SOVEREIGNTY.

We shall discuss the scope and nature of the powers of the Kautilyan sovereign under the following three headings :—

- (a) King and the functionaries of the state.
- (b) State monopoly of forests, mines, wine, and salt.
- (c) King and the people.

(a) *King and the functionaries of the state* :— The sovereign, according to Kautilya, is the embodiment of all authority. The various dignitaries of the state like the ministers, the councillors, the commander-in-chief etc. are but the deputies of the king created and authorised by his will to carry on the administrative activities of

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

his kingdom. In the opinion of Kautilya, the king makes their appointment only with a view to facilitate the governance of his state since it is humanly impossible for a single individual, however strong and intelligent, to regulate and guide the entire social organisation on proper lines. Thus, while inculcating the necessity and desirability of having counsellors to subserve royalty Kautilya tersely remarks :—

सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं चक्रेणैकं न वर्तते ।

कुर्वति सन्निवास्तस्मात्तेषां च धुषुयान्मतम् ॥¹

"Sovereignty is practicable (only) with the co-operation (of others), for a single wheel by itself cannot revolve. Hence one shall appoint counsellors and listen to their advice". Here the appointment of these officials is king's voluntary business and thus a matter of pure expediency. Again, while determining the ministerial sphere of action we find Kautilya saying :—

प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमेया हि राजकृतिः । स्वयं दृष्टं प्रत्यक्षम्, परोपदिष्टं परोक्षम् ।
कर्मसु कृतेनाकृतान्वेषणमनुमेयम् । अवैतपदानु कर्मणामनेऽत्वादनेकस्य
त्वाच्च देशकालाख्यो वा भूदिति परोक्षममात्रेः कारयोदस्यमात्यकर्म" ।

"Royal work is either visible, invisible or inferential. What is perceived personally is visible, what is specified by others is invisible, and what is planned after the

1. P. 14.

2. P. 15.

accomplishment of some work, is inferential. In view of the fact that works are not found to arise simultaneously, are of diverse nature and pertain to several places, and also in view of the fact that the king may not lose proper time and place (in their accomplishment), he shall allow the ministers to accomplish them in his absence. Such is the nature of the work of ministers." Here also Kautilya thinks that the appointment of the ministers is to be made only with a view to lessen the burden of the king in the discharge of his duties towards the state. In virtue of this peculiar relation with their king, the government officers in the Arthasāstra are strictly directed to take the permission of their supreme head, the monarch, in undertaking any new enterprise. Thus, in the chapter on 'Upayuktapariksha' Kautilya specifically instructs the high officers not to do any work without consulting the sovereign. He says: न च निवेद्य मर्तुः किञ्चिदारम्भं कुर्वन्मन्त्रापत्यदीनारम्भः ।¹ "Except on occasions of emergency and defence they (i. e. the officers) shall not contemplate any project without communicating it to the Lord". Again, though the king is morally obliged to hold deliberations with his counsellors, yet he is in no way legally bound to abide by the decision of the majority. He is free to exercise his own judgment

1. P. 63.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

and discretion. In the chapter on 'Mantrādhyāyā' Kautilya observes :—

आत्ययिके कार्ये मंत्रिणो मंत्रिपरिषदं बाह्यं ब्रूयात् ।

तत्र बहुविधः कार्यसिद्धिकरं वा बहुस्तत्त्वमात्¹ ।

"In critical moments the king shall summon his ministers individually and collectively and deliberate (with them). He shall either act up to the decision of the majority or to that (of other ministers) which (in the opinion of the king) appears to bring success".² Here it is evident that according to the Arthasāstra, there is no legal obligation on the king to act according to the mandate of the council. This proves that the "Consultative Body" as it appears in the Arthasāstra, is subservient to the king and is practically in-effective in checking the irresponsible exercise of sovereign power.

1. P. 29.

2. We agree with Radhapedhyaya when he comments on the passage quoted above : "the force of the words बहुविधा बहु is taken away by the other expression कार्यसिद्धिकरं वा and proves that, though morally liable to follow the opinion of the majority, it was left to the king to select the course which was best calculated to bring success".

Kautilya. P. 128.

THE ARTHASĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

Further-more, the prime-minister,¹ the highest dignitary of the state and probably the leader of the Mantrin, along with his colleagues, is no more than a royal servant, selected and appointed by the king and holding his office during 'royal pleasure'. From the Arthasāstra

1. In the Kautilya the prime-minister is referred to both as a Mantrin and as an Amatya. Cf.:

(a) मंत्रिपुरोदितसप्तः..... जमात्यानुपधानिश्चोचयेत् । P. 16

(b) अश्विनाचार्यमन्त्रिपुरोदितसेनापति युवराज ३३०. P. 247

(c) मंत्रिपुरोदितादि भूस्ववर्ग..... राजैव करोति । P. 323

Amatya: (a) ज्ञानपदोऽभिजातः वैराजामकर्तृत्समात्य-सम्पत् । P. 16

(This passage occurs in the chapter on the 'creation (of the posts) of the Mantrin and the Purohita' where after mentioning the requisites of the Amatya, Kautilya enumerates the qualities of the Purohita without making any reference to the Mantrin. This shows that he uses both the terms in the same sense).

(b) राजस्यसुनमेवममात्यः प्रति कुर्वीत । P. 254.

(c) एवमेकैश्चर्यममात्यः कारयेदिति कौटिल्यः । P. 255.

The synonymous use of these two terms in the Arthasāstra to denote the same personage probably shows that at the time of Kautilya the prime minister was the joint head of the Mantrin or what Dr. Baurjoe calls " the cabinet ", and the Amatyas or the chief executive officers who were in charge of manifold departments of the state. To our mind the last three chapters in the 5th book of the text seem to be exclusively designed by Kautilya for directing the prime-minister in the proper performance of his duties.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

he appears more as a courtier seeking the favour of the king and following him unreservedly than as a custodian of public rights¹. In the course of his advice to the prime-minister concerning his behaviour towards the sovereign, Kautilya remarks, quite in the tone of Manu:-

आत्मरक्षा हि सततं पूर्वं कार्या विज्ञानता ।
अज्ञानेन हि संशोका कृता राजोपजीविना ॥
एकदेशे दहदग्निः शरीरे वा परं मतः ।
संपुत्रदारं राजा तु पातयेद्दुर्बलेन वा² ॥

"Self-protection shall be the first and constant duty of the wise, for it is aptly said that the life of men in royal service is as (dangerous) as that in fire. Fire when allured, consumes either a part or the whole of the body, whereas the king has the power either to destroy or to exalt his servants along with their sons and wives". These verses unmistakably point out how in the opinion of Kautilya, the position of the prime-minister, the highest officer of the state and the head of the administration, next to the king himself, entirely depends on the sweet will of the monarch.

1. Cf. for instance such verses which are presumably addressed to the Minister :-

दूतः प्रियदितं ब्रूवात् ब्रूवाद्दितं प्रियम् ।
अप्रियं वा दितं ब्रूवाच्छून्यतोऽनुमती यथा ॥
तूष्णीं वा प्रतिवाक्ये स्यात् द्वेषादीष न वर्णयेत् ।
अप्रिया अपि दक्ष्याम्युः तद्वाक्ये बहिष्कृताः ॥

P. 281.

2. P. 251. Cf. अग्निवद्विज्ञानमाभवेत् Chanakyastratani-

THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

(b) *State monopoly of forests, mines, wine and salt:-* The king of the Arthas'āstra claims as his own the wastelands, forests, mines, and liquor. From the chapter on 'The Colonisation of wastelands' (*Janapadanivahā*) it is clear that the king exercises his right of ownership as regards the wastelands. Forests which appear to have been common property in the days of the Dharmaśāstras are found in the Arthas'āstra appropriated to the share of the king. These are under the jurisdiction of royal officers called '*Dasyavasanapalas*'. Not only the raw produce, but even wild animals such as deer (*Mṛiga*), ferocious beasts (*Vyaḍa*), elephants, etc. are claimed as belonging to the king. Valuable games, especially the elephants, are most jealously guarded by promulgating stringent game-laws¹ which bear a close resemblance to those enforced by the Normans in England. Mines in the state, which in the opinion of Kautilya are mainly responsible for bringing in new acquisitions² and con-

1. Cf. (a) युनइव्यवनापहारे शस्त्रो दण्डः ।

(b) इस्तिधातिने इन्दुः । P. 53.

(c) विधीतक्षेत्रमालयेस्मद्व्यहसिः।वनदेविकममिनादाहवेत् ।

P. 299.

2. Cf. आकरप्रभवः कोशः कोशारम्भः प्रजायते ।

पृथिवी कोशदम्भाम्बां प्राप्यते कोशभूषणम् ॥ P. 85

¹ "Wealth has its source in mines; and from wealth army is created; it is by means of wealth and army that the earth endowed with riches, is acquired".

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

solidating the sovereignty of the king, are also seized upon as government property. Accordingly the mining operations are carried on under the supervision of a royal officer called the 'Dharaḍhyaksha' and are strictly guarded.¹ The Kautilyan king does not confine his attention to these mines which yield precious minerals such as corals, jewels, gold, silver and other useful metals. He also controls and exploits the mines yielding salt and alkalies — the articles of daily consumption. The salt-mines are under the direct supervision of a superintendent specially created for that purpose. To add to this there is that now odious 'Salt-tax' at work which enjoins the people to pay a certain amount of tax and prescribes the highest punishment to those persons who live on 'unlicensed' salt.² Liquor, in the Arthaśāstra is also a royal monopoly. Accordingly it is manufactured, sold and distributed through out the state under the supervision of the 'Dharaḍhyaksha' or the superintendent of Liquors. Only on festive occasions people are allowed to manufacture wine for a stipulated period and that also on the payment of a definite tax *Of*.

1. For instance, a person who steals a jewel or any valuable article either from mines or royal manufactories is punished with death. *Of*. सुनितारकर्मोन्नेभ्यस्त्वार रत्नं वापहरतः शुद्धयथः ८
P. 222

2. विलम्बमुत्तमं दण्डं दद्यात् ; अनिसृष्टोपजीवी च
... .. अतोऽप्यो लम्बनस्तारवर्गैः शुल्कं दद्यात् ॥ P. 85.

वत्सवसमाजयात्रासु चतुरद्वः सौरिको देयः । तेष्वनुज्ञातानां
प्रद्वयान्तं देवसिकमत्वर्यं गृह्णीयात् ।

"On occasions of festivals, fairs, and social gatherings permission shall be granted to manufacture wine for four days. He shall take the daily tax from those persons who are allowed to manufacture liquor, until the period is over".

From the above it can be seen that the king of the Kautilyan state exclusively reserves for himself almost all the natural resources of his kingdom.

(c) *King and the people.*

This we shall discuss under the following four headings :—

- (i) Civil Liberty.
- (ii) Rights of taxation.
- (iii) Right to enforce the public will.
- (iv) Right of defence and offence.

(i) **Civil liberty** :— Here we take the opportunity of explaining this term once for all. Civil liberty or 'Liberty in society', is the right to do as one pleases while encroaching least on the wishes of others. "It includes", as Gettel says, "right to free action and immunity from interference." The State safeguards the

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

rights of an individual by protecting him (a) against other individuals and (b) against the government or its executive organ. Against his fellow - individuals the individual is protected by the government, and against the government protection is afforded to him directly by the State. In the former case, it is the government which becomes the judge, whereas in the latter that role is assumed by the State itself.

Now as regards the State of the Arthashastra, it fully takes cognizance of the first part of civil liberty and as such makes every legal provision to safe-guard the life and property of the citizen against the encroachments of his other fellow-citizens. This point we shall illustrate by taking a few examples:—

PROTECTION OF PERSON.

Against defamation (वाक्तादभ्यम्):— सख्यभिधास्तुति-
निन्दाम् द्वादशपणोल्लरा दण्डास्तुत्येषु । विनिर्दिष्टे द्विगुणः । हानेभ्यश्च
दण्डाः । परस्त्रीषु द्विगुणाः¹ ।

"Indulgence to praise or censure of equals, whether it be true or false, shall be punished with a fine ranging over twelve pases. Of superiors, with double the fine and of inferiors with half the fine. Of others' wives with double the fine."

1. P. 193.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA

Against assault— गुह्येन प्रहरत वृत्तमो दण्डः मदेन हस्तवधः। वधे वधः¹ ।

"When a person injures (another person) by means of a weapon he shall be punished with the highest amercement. If he acts so under intoxication his hands will be cut off. If he murders him he shall be hanged."

Against attempt on life—

विषदायकं पुरुषं स्त्रियं पुरुषाग्नीमयः प्रवेशयेत्² ।

"A man who administers poison (to others), and a woman who murders a man shall (both) be drowned".

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY.

(1) प्रसङ्गादाने वास्तुनि स्तेयदण्डः। अरसादाने प्रवासमाजीवं परिसङ्कयाय बन्धं दद्यात्। मर्यादादरने पूर्वः सादसदण्डः। मर्यादाभेदे चतुर्विंशतिषणो दण्डः³ ।

"Occupation of a building-site by force shall be punished as theft. If taken possession of by another on reasonable grounds he shall pay a compensation (to its owner), after considering his bare subsistence (प्रवासमाजीवं). Encroachment upon boundaries shall be punished with

1. P. 234.

2. P. 230.

3. P. 169.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

the first amercement. Destruction of boundaries with a fine of twenty-four *paṇas* ¹.

- (ii) सेतुकूपपुष्पस्थानचैत्यदेवतावतनानि च परभूमौ निवेशयतः
... .. मध्यमस्तादृशदण्डः ² ।

"Constructing lakes, wells, holy places, monasteries and temples in a site pertaining to another person, shall be punished with the middle amercement."

- (iii) कन्यादोषमौपत्याधिक्यनाश्याय प्रवच्छतः कन्यां पुन्यवति-
दण्डः । शुल्कश्रीपनप्रतिदानं च । वरमिदुर्वा वरदोषमना-
श्याय द्विपुनः । शुल्कश्रीपननाशय ³ ।

"A person giving his daughter in marriage without appraising her (guilt of) having an illegal connection with another man, shall be liable to the fine of 96 *paṇas* and also shall be made to restore the *S'ulka* and *Stridhana*. A person receiving a girl in marriage without divulging the defects of a bride-groom shall have to suffer a fine of double the above and also the forfeiture of *S'ulka* and *Stridhana*.

AGAINST THE LIBERTY OF A PERSON.

- (i) पुरुषमबन्धनीयं वधतो बन्धयतो वा
... .. बालमप्राप्तभ्यवदानं वधतो
बन्धयतो वा सप्तदण्डः ⁴ ।

1. P. 176.

2. P. 188.

3. P. 199.

"When a person keeps or causes to keep another person in bondage who has no reason to be so treated, or keeps or causes to keep in confinement a boy who has not attained majority, he shall be punished with the fine of 1000 Pāṇas".

(ii) उदरदासवर्जैर्मायैः प्राणमग्राप्तमवधारं सूरं विक्रयधामे नयतस्व-
जनस्य द्वादशपणो दण्डः । वैश्यं द्विगुणः । ब्राह्मणं चतुर्गुणः ।
परजनस्य पूर्वमभ्यर्च्योत्तमवधाः केतुश्रोतृणां च¹ ।

"The kinsman, who bring for sale or mortgage, the life of a S'ūdra who is an Ārya (A free man), and not a born slave, and who is (yet) a minor, shall be fined 12 Pāṇas; of a Vaiśya, 24 Pāṇas; of a Kshatriya 36 Pāṇas; and of a Brāhmana, 48 Pāṇas. In the event of strangers doing so, they shall be punished with the three amercements and capital punishment (respectively). The purchasers and the witnesses (in the bargain) shall also be punished likewise".

Protection against the government officials.

Beside making such legal provisions to safe-guard the rights and privileges of a citizen, against the aggression of his fellow-citizen, the state of the Arthas-ASTRA takes due care to grant him immunity from the oppressions of the bureaucracy. Kautilya specially instructs the

1. P. 181.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

king to keep a strict watch over the high officials of the state with a view to prevent misbehaviour on their part in the discharge of their duties.¹ "For", he says with a true insight of a philosopher into human nature, "men, like horses, when yoked to the office, are apt to go astray" — अश्वमधर्माणो हि मनुष्या विदुषा कर्मसु विकुर्वते² । He, therefore, issues several regulations in order to check or suppress the evil propensities of the officers. These regulations prescribe various sorts of punishments to be meted out to them.

They are prosecuted for the offences committed against the public by promulgating such laws or regulations as we give below : —

(i) यस्यमुदये द्विगुणमुद्भावयति स जनपदं भक्षयति³ ।

स वेदाचार्यमुपनयसम्भावराधे वारयितव्यः ।

महति वधावराधं दण्डयितव्यः⁴ ।

"Whoever doubles the revenue consumes the country. If he brings in the same for the sake of the king, he shall be warned, in case the offence is not serious, if it is of a graver character he shall be punished in proportion to the guilt".

1. कर्मसु तेषां निर्व्यं परीक्षां कारयेत् वित्तनित्यत्वात् मनुष्याणाम् ।
P. 68.

2. P. 68.

3. Cf. अथामहर्षीनामप्राजाः क्षीयन्ते सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

तथा कोशाः नरेन्द्राणां क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्मणात् ॥

Quoted by G. Shastri.

4. P. 68.

(ii) ग्रामिकस्य ग्रामादस्तेनपारदारं निरस्यतश्चतुर्विंशतिपणो दण्डः¹ ।

"When a village-headman drives out of the village a person who is neither a burglar nor an adulterer, he shall be punished with a fine of 24 Pāsas".

(iii) धर्मस्थलेद्विषदमानं पुरुषं तर्जयति, मर्त्यस्यपसारयत्यभि-
मन्यते वा, पूर्वमस्मै साहसदण्डं कुर्यात् । वाक्यारूपे द्विगुणम् ।
पृच्छयं न पृच्छति, पृष्ट्वा वा विस्मयति, सिद्धयति, स्मारयति,
पूर्वं ददाति वेति मध्यमस्मै साहसदण्डं कुर्यात् । देयं देशं न
पृच्छति, अदेयं देशं पृच्छति, कार्यमवेक्षेनातिवाहयति,
उलेनातिहरति, कालहरणेन भ्रातृमपवाहयति, मातृपुत्रं
वाक्यमुत्कमयति, मलिसहायं सर्वशून्यो ददाति, कारितानु-
शिष्टं कार्यं पुनरपि पृच्छति, उत्तमस्मै साहसदण्डं कुर्यात् ।
पुनरपराधि द्विगुणं, स्थानाद्यवरोपणं च² ।

"If a judge, threatens or chides, or drives out or (unjustly) silences a litigant, he shall be punished with the first amercement. If he defames the litigant he (i. e. the judge) shall be punished with a fine of double the amount. If he does not question what ought to be questioned, or questions what ought not to be questioned, or (even) having questioned passes it over, or instructs, reminds or intimates any litigant beforehand, he shall be

1. P. 172.

2. PP. 224-225.

DEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

liable to the middle amercement. If he does not proceed to make relevant inquiries, or proceeds to make irrelevant inquiries, drags off the business unnecessarily, or postpones it with malice, or having spent much of time, makes the litigant leave (the court) with disgust, or (purposely) avoids or overlooks a relevant statement (*मार्गापन्नं वाक्यं*), or lends (personal) assistance to the witnesses, or resumes the case which has already been decided, he shall be punished with the highest amercement. If he repeats the same, he shall be doubly fined and dismissed forthwith ”.

Such are the measures which the government of Kaṭṭilya adopts in protecting and maintaining the civil rights of its citizens both against the encroachment of individuals and the administrative officers. The latter are subjected to punishment not as the representatives of the king but as ordinary individuals of the State.

As regards the other part of civil liberty which consists in granting immunity against government and which constitutes civil liberty proper, it is not recognised and hence not maintained by the state of Kaṭṭilya. Any action against government is construed as an offence against the king and hence it is not tolerated in the least. Any person, whose interests come into conflict with those of the king is regarded as seditious and as such is either deprived of his most rudimentary

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA

civil rights¹ or even of his life by promulgating the law of treason which operates with great rigour and whose provisions we give below:—

(i) राजकोशकमंत्रमेदकयोः त्रिभ्यमुत्पाटयेत्² ।

"Persons crying down the king, or divulging the secret of the state shall have their tongue cut off."

(ii) राज्यकामुकमन्तःपुरप्रवर्षकमटव्यमित्रोत्साहकं दुर्गैरपूद्वन्ध-
कोपकं वा विरोदस्तथादीपिकं घातयेत् । ब्राम्हणं तमपः
प्रवेशयेत्³ ।

1. This will be evident from the following verses:—

जीवत्वं परदेसं वा प्रस्थितो राजकिल्बिषी ।

प्राणाभिहन्ता पतितसंज्ञावः स्त्रीबोधपि वा पतिः ॥

P. 134.

"A wife may divorce her husband, who has degraded himself or has gone abroad, or has become a traitor to the king or is a murderer or has fallen from caste or has lost all his virility."

Even a woman is made to forfeit her right to *Stridhana* and her marital presents:—

Cf. राजद्विष्टातिचारान्वाप्ताप्यज्जमनेन च । स्त्रीधनानीतशुल्का-
नामस्त्रान्यं जायते त्रिवः । P. 137.

2. P. 236.

3. P. 329.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

"A person coveting the royal domains, outraging the sanctity of the harem, instigating the wild tribes (against the king), creating disaffection in the army of the metropolis or of the moosail, shall be killed by burning his head and hands; a Brāhmana (offender) shall be drowned unto death.¹

In prescribing this law, it will be noticed, Kautilya often contradicts the maxim that punishment should be always inflicted in proportion to the actual crime committed (पुरुषापराधविशेषेण दण्डविशेषः कार्यः ।) — a maxim which is enunciated by himself. It is rather inequitable to punish the persons slandering the king with the mutilations of the tongue. The mode of executing persons who are accused of carrying on an undesirable propaganda against the royal person either in his own realm or outside is simply repugnant and as such it seems to outrun in barbarity the actual crime committed. But the prescription of such stringent laws is the direct outcome of Kautilya's abhorrence for sedition. When he once suspects any person to be conspiring against the king he looks upon him as an outlaw only deserving to be put down by any means. In eradicating seditious

1. This law of treason, as Bandopadhyaya points out, bears a very close resemblance to the one promulgated by the Plantagenets in England.

See P. 63, Kautilya.

persons he employs such methods as are entirely dissociated from all standards of morality. To quote but one example :— The prince, according to Kautilya, is to adopt the following device to make away with a powerful traitor :—

दूष्यमहामात्रपुत्रमात्मसंभावितं वा सत्री—“राजपुत्रस्त्वं सप्तभयादि-
हन्वस्योऽसि” इत्युपजयेत् । प्रतिपद्ये राज्ञे रक्षसि पूजयेत्—“प्राप्तयोव-
राज्यकाले स्वी महामात्रमवाश्रमिष्यामि” इति । तं सत्री महामात्र-
बन्धे योजनयेत् । विद्वान्तं तत्रैव घातयेत् । “पितृघातकोऽयं” इति¹ ।

“A spy may whisper into the ear of a seditious minister's son who thinks highly of himself — ‘you are the son of the king but are kept here out of fear from the enemies’. When won over, the king may honour him in secret saying ‘Though you have attained the proper age I cannot install you as my heir-apparent since I apprehend danger from the minister.’ Then the spy may instigate him to murder the minister. When he succeeds the former may kill him on the spot on the plea of his being a murderer of his own father.” He maintains the same attitude towards the external enemies of the king. He thinks that any ruler who opposes the conqueror (Pijigishu) in his attempt to extend his dominions, is to be regarded as an enemy and to be crushed at all costs². Accordingly he recommends

1. P. 288.

2. Kautilya's idea of an external enemy is based on the principle of expediency for, he defines the enemy as :—
अरिर्धनयुक्तः सामन्तः शत्रुः । P. 259. [for अरिर्धनयुक्त see अराजकी etc. on P. 259.]

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

to his 'political man' the adoption of deceitful and immoral methods for the successful putting down of his foes. Such devices have been abundantly described in the last four books¹ of the *Arthashastra*. The employment of dishonesty, cruelty, violence and many other vices for the destruction of enemies of the State receives, in the opinion of Kautilya, general approbation. When he specifically admonishes the king that such measures ought to be taken only against traitors and the wicked and not against others (एवं दुष्प्रेषधार्मिकेषु च वर्तेत । नेतरेषु)², he implicitly strikes that no expedient, however isolated from moral or ethical consideration, can be deemed dishonourable while dealing with the enemy. Hence it is that he entertains no scruples in advising the conqueror to overcome his enemies by using such methods wherein moral judgments are wholly subordinated to the exigencies of "political existence and welfare." This Kautilian philosophy of expediency is awfully frank and in a way straightforward. All his dealings with the enemy proceed from the conviction that he is a veritable viper and as such fit to be annihilated by using unscrupulous machinations. This is the real psychology of the author

1. संघवृत्तम्, आवर्त्तनम्, दुर्गलम्बोपायः, २०३ औपनिषदिकम् ।

2. P. 246. Cf. also चातुर्वर्ण्यरक्षार्थमौपनिषदिकमधर्मिष्ठेषु व्युंजीत ।

THE ARTHAS'ĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

of the Arthas'āstra which has been but grossly misrepresented or ridiculed by great Sanskrit writers like Bāṇa and Daṇḍin that followed him centuries afterwards. To be brief, like Machiavelli, Kautilya 'is not immoral but unmoral in his politics'.¹

The State of Kautilya does not provide any safeguard against government-encroachment because it is strictly a monarchical state, where, as has been shown in the earlier part of the essay, the king both represents the government and the State. His will is the "general will" and consequently he is absolute in authority over all individuals or associations of individuals within the State. As an absolute sovereign nobody can claim any right against him which ultimately means that he gives his subjects no guarantee against interference on his part. Thus like the Dharmas'āstras, the Arthas'āstra of Kautilya does not take cognizance of 'civil liberty' in the real sense of the term.

(ii) **Right of taxation** :—The financial system of the Kautilyan government as it appears in the Arthas'āstra, is decidedly of an advanced type. As compared with the earlier tax-system which is found in the Dharmas'āstras, the one of Kautilya is heavier and more complex

1. Political Theories — Ancient & Medieval P. 229.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

and as such is the index of an advanced stage of civilization and consequent increase in the duties of State.

In early days the burden of taxation was very light. "Peasants", says Gautama, the earliest known law-giver of India, "shall pay to the king a tax of one tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth (of the produce). Some hold that (a tax of) one-fifteenth (shall be paid) on cattle and gold. A duty of one-twentieth shall be paid on merchandises and in the case of roots, fruits, flowers, medicines, herbs, honey, meat, grass, and fire-wood: the tax (to be paid) shall be one-sixteenth":—

राज्ञे बलिदानं वर्षेऽर्द्धशतमष्टमं पटं वा । पशुहिरण्यवोरप्येके
पञ्चाशद्भागः । विंशतिभागः शुल्कः पश्वे । मूलकलपुष्पोदधमधुतृणे-
न्धनानां पटः¹ ।

In the days of Manu taxation appears to be comparatively burdensome as the rates are appreciably higher and items of taxation numerous. Thus says Manu:—
"Of gold and cattle the king may take one-fifteenth, and of grains one-eighth, one-sixth or one twelfth part (as tax.) He may also take a sixth part of trees, meat, money, clarified butter, perfume, medicinal herbs, liquids (oil etc.), flowers, roots, fruits; of leaves, vegetables, grass, skins (of animals), canoes, and also of earthen vessels, and of articles made of stones."²

1. X. 94-97.

2. VII. 119-122.

THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

The financial system that is detailed in the Arthas'āstra marks a distinct advance over the simple system of taxation which we find in the Dharmaśāstra literature. We proceed to describe it below.

The following are the chief sources from which the state of Kautilya derives its income:— (i) Capital, (ii) countryside, (iii) mines, (iv) public works, (v) forests, and (vi) pastures.

The income which flows forth from the capital to the royal treasury consists of excise duties levied on articles of local production like liquor, oils, cotton-goods etc; taxes on courtesans, artisans, warehouses (*Panga sametha*), and places of pilgrimage (probably this was the duty of the *Dvataḍigabika* mentioned here), and tolls collected on city-gates (*Salkam*); the revenue from the country consists of land assessments of various descriptions, ferry dues and road cesses. The assets derived from the mines are chiefly the precious metals and their other yields. The receipts of public works are flowers, fruits, and vegetables grown in the state-gardens, and those from forests consist of the sale of the forest-produce (*Draṇya*), of elephants, and other animals and the proceeds from forest lands which are leased out to private individuals. The income derived from pastures consists of grazing fees levied on cattle and lastly, that collected from trade-routes is by levies on landroutes

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

and water-ways. There are other minor heads of taxation i. e. those levied on loads and beasts of burden by frontier officers and also on the issue of passports. In addition to these regular taxes, there are occasional imposts levied on particular occasions also. These doubtless, are imposed on the people to meet the growing needs of an imperial state. They are *Senabaktam*—contributions levied for the subsistence of the army (probably these taxes were levied in war times only). *Utanga*—this is a tax paid on the occasion of the birth of a prince. Dr. P. Banerjee rightly describes these taxes as 'forced benevolences.' *Paraka*—royalties. *Anpa-ganika*—taxes in the form of presentations to be made to the king.¹

As regards the rates of taxation : the land assessment is the traditional one-sixth of the produce which in extra-ordinary times usually is raised to one-fourth or one-third. (*Cf.* अथर्व महान्तमस्यप्रमाणं वा देवमातृकं धान्यस्वांशं तृतीये चतुर्थे वा याचेत्² 1). Besides these, there are other kinds of taxes on lands such as *Bali*, *Pindakara*, *Kara* etc. but the exact import of these terms is not as yet definitely established. As to the scale of duties on commodities we give the following table :—

1. P. 94.

2. P. 243 अदेवमातृकं would be a better reading.

1/6th — on fruits, flowers, grains, meat and fish¹.
1/15th or 1/10th — on linen goods, cotton-fabric,
mercury, metal, sandalwood etc.²

1/25th to 1/10th—on clothes, cotton, medicine,
firewood, bamboo, skins, clay-pots, oils, wine, salt etc.³

In connection with merchandises it is to be pointed out that taxes are levied even on their sale and hence the sale of any commodity at the place of its production is strictly prohibited under penalty of law :—

जातिभूमिषु च पश्यानामविजयः।

स्वनिभ्यो धातुस्त्रादानेषु परस्त्रमजयः। etc.⁴

"Articles shall not be sold at the place of their production. A person purchasing any minerals or saleable articles at the production-centres shall be fined 600 Pāgas." All the commodities, therefore, are taken to the market and put for sale in the presence of royal officers who charge due taxes (S'ulkaṃ) thereon.⁵ The tax on all sales is 1/16, if measurable by a cubical standard, 1/20, if weighed and 1/10, if counted.⁶ Thus,

1. P. 113.

2. P. 112.

3. P. 113.

4. P. 113.

5. See pp. 109-111.

6. षोडशभागो मानस्याजी । विंशतिभागस्तुजमानम् ।

गम्यपश्यानामेकादशभागः ।

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

in its zeal as it were for amassing wealth, the state of Kautilya exhausts every possible source of taxation. "No inconceivable resource," as Prof. S.K. Sarkar, rightly remarks, "has been untapped by the Mauryan empire".

This heavy and complex system of taxation which obtains in the state in question obviously shows that the king never consults his people whether in creating or enhancing the sources of taxation. There is no machinery like a popular assembly of today, through which he could manage to consult the public in shaping his fiscal policy. In fact, according to Kautilya, the people are to pay straight-way such taxes as are demanded of them by the king. Those who fail or avoid the proper payment of the imposts levied by the State, are in his opinion, liable to punishments of varying severity. This will be clear from the following instances :—

(1) अमादृत्युदया धीष्णे कर्मकाणमुद्राप कारयेयुः ।

अमादापनस्याखये द्विगुणमुदाहरन्तो बोजकाले बोजनेत्ययं कुर्वुः ।

निष्पद्ये हरितपक्षादानं कारयेयुः ।.....

स्वस्यापाहारेणः प्रतिपातोऽष्टगुणः ।

परस्वस्यापहारिणः पञ्चाशद्वृणः सीताखयः ।

स्ववर्गस्य वाद्यस्य तु वधः¹ ।

1. P. 242.

"The subordinates of the collector-general may force peasants to raise the summer crops. Declaring that any injury to the crops through negligence (on the part of the cultivators), would entail the fine of double the amount (of the total price of the crops), they shall make entries of (the quantity of seeds-बीजहेतुं) sown in the sowing season. When crops are ripe, they (i. e. the royal officers) shall prevent them (the cultivators) from removing the standing crop..... Whoever takes away his own grain shall pay a fine eight times the quantity of grain removed; and whoever steals the corn belonging to another person shall be liable to a fine 50 times the quantity stolen and provided the robber belongs to the same community; if he is an outsider he shall be put to death."

(ii) चतुर्थमंशं धान्यानां च दृष्टीयुः । दन्तानिनस्या-
धेम् । अनिरुहविष्टीयामस्य पूर्वस्यादसदृष्टः¹ ।

"(The officers) shall take one-fourth share of grains. They shall also exact one-half of ivory and skins of animals and punish with the first amercement those who trade in these commodities without obtaining the required licence from the State."

But this does not mean that Kautilya favours the collection of arbitrary exactions on the part of the king.

1. P. 243.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

On the other hand, he advises him to prevent his deputies from indulging in the economic tyranny of the people. He says:—

यस्समुदयं द्विगुणमुद्धावयति स जनपदं मलयति । स चेदामार्थ-
मुपनयन्त्यापराधे वारितव्योः महति दण्डपराधं दण्डयितुम् ।¹

"An officer who collects double the usual amount of revenue eats into the vitality of the people. If he brings in the exactions for the king, he may be pardoned provided his offence is slight, if grave, he may be fined in proportion to his guilt." In another place, he asks the king to protect the agriculturists from oppressive fines and taxation.² Again, he admonishes the sovereign to raise the emergency tax (Prasaya) only once and never twice. [सहस्रं न द्विः प्रयोज्यते.] According to him taxes should be imposed in proportion to the paying ability of the people so that they should not feel their pressure. This principle he enunciates in a very striking manner. He says:—

पक्कं पक्कमिवारामाकृतं राज्यं दवाप्नुयात् ।

आमन्तेदमयादानं बर्जयेत्कोपहारकम् ।³

1. P. 68.

2. दण्डनिष्ठिकरावधिः etc. P. 48.

3. P. 243.

4. P. 245.

THE ARTHASĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

"Just as fruits are gathered from a garden whenever they become ripe, in the same way revenue shall be collected from the people whenever it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured, causing immense trouble". It is significant to note in connection with this verse that it is purely based on the presumption that the right of taxation is solely vested in the king and the king alone.

Thus though the citizens of the Kautilyan State have no voice in the formation of rules pertaining to taxation, still the king is expected to save them from being unduly exploited.

(iii) **Right to enforce the public will:**—Being a strong and centralized government (as is evident from the description in the *Arthasāstra* of a complicated and elaborate system of its administration), the Kautilyan State never takes cognizance of the right of its citizens of direct or indirect participation in the management of the affairs of the State. All authority issues forth from the king and it is in his name that the whole administration is conducted by an 'all-engrossing' bureaucracy. The king and his council (*Mantriparishat*), which, it will be recalled, does not in any way represent the public, are the final authority in all matters concerning the State. Both the capital and the countryside (*Janapada*) are

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

directly controlled by the king and practically no scope is left for the people to exercise any political rights. As to the capital it is under the control of the Nāgaraka or the City Superintendent who, in his zeal for Democracy, has been wrongly termed as 'Mayor' by Prof. B. K. Sarker.¹ Under him are four *Sthanikas* or Divisional officers, each of whom is in charge of a quarter of the city. Under these officers, there are several *Gopas* or Sub-divisional officers whose duty it is to look to the affairs of families in groups of ten or twenty or forty which are allotted to them separately. [समाहर्तुं च अगर्को नगरं चिन्तयेत् । दशकुलीनोपो विंशतिकुली चत्वारिंशकुली वा² ।].

The chief duty of the town officials is to see that traders and law-abiding citizens are undisturbed in their respective pursuits. They have to provide medical aid to the suffering, and keep watch on strangers either coming in or departing from the city. They have to ensure the good sanitary condition of the city and take precautions against the accidents of fire. In addition to these duties they are expected to prevent the commission of crimes on the part of the inhabitants³.

1. P. 65. The Political Institutions & the Theories of the Hindus.

2. P. 143.

3. See pp. 143-147.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA

From the above it will be seen that the administration of the capital town is exclusively managed by the king through his servants.

In this connection we cannot avoid making a few remarks as regards 'The Municipal Board' of Pataliputra, the metropolis of Chandragupta, the account of which has been preserved to us by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at his court. The functions of the 'Municipal Board' as detailed by Megasthenes¹ agree in the main with the duties which the Nāgaraka and his subordinates are called upon to discharge.² But curiously enough Kautilya makes no reference whatsoever to the existence of this constitutional body in charge of the affairs of the chief town of the State. It is probable that Megasthenes might have interpreted in the language

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1. See 'Megasthenes', Mc Crindle. Fragment 31.
 2. The chapter on 'Nagarasamsthiti' doubtlessly concerns itself with the administration of the capital of the State, and not with that of other cities existing therein. For, as we learn from the chapter on Durgasamsthiti, it is in Durga where the king and his functionaries reside (See P. 55), and what Kautilya refers to as Nagara in Nagarasamsthiti (*Of समादितुं च नगरं चितयेत्* P. 183) is none else than the Durga itself as it is evident from the sentence occurring immediately on the next page. (*Of एवं दुर्गचतुर्भागं स्थानिर्वाचयन्तयेत्.*)

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

of his own country the body of town-officials headed by the Nāgaraka as mentioned in the Arthasāstra, for it is almost impossible to conceive of an elected 'Municipal Board' as governing the capital of the State referred to in the Arthasāstra.

Provincial (Janapada) administration is modelled on the same lines as that of the capital. The Samaharta or the Collector-general is the head of the province under whom are the four Sthanikas each in charge of a quarter of the Janapada. Under these officials there are numerous Gopas (the village accountants) in charge of five or ten villages. These latter set up the village boundaries, keep the most detailed census of occupations, income, and expenditure of men and also watch the conduct of the subjects.¹

Turning our attention to the village-administration we find that at the head of the village, there is the Gramika or headman appointed no doubt by the State².

1. PP. 141-143

2. This inference we base on the penal provision prescribed by Kautilya for Gramika failing in the proper discharge of his duties (CL ग्रामिकस्य ग्रामादस्तेनपालदारं निरस्तव्यमुच्यते पणो दण्डः, P. 172). Had he been an officer of the village elected by the people there would have been no necessity for the state of subjecting him to penalties whenever he erred in his public duties and thus treating him as an officer for that would have been the concern of the people by whose will he was bound.

THE ARTHASĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

He is assisted by a band of village elders or the *Gramavidhān*, there being no restriction as to their number. Such is probably the case because the number of members who form the (village) council varies according to the rise and fall in the number of the elderly folk of the village. Every oldman of the village, excepting of course, such a one with objectionable career and spoilt reputation, is, as the very term *Gramavidhān* suggests, by dint of his ripe age and mature wisdom, entitled to take active part in the general administration of his village. This is perhaps the reason why the shrewd author of the *Arthasāstra* refrains from giving any particular number as to the strength of this little autonomous body. It is thus, as Prof. Altekar rightly conjectures¹ 'an informal and non-elective' council of the village elders through which the village communities exercise their rights or more appropriately discharge their duties to the State.

The following are the social duties entrusted to the village-elders:-

- (i) To take charge of estates belonging to minors and the property of gods. (बालदम्भं ग्रामवृद्धा वर्धयेयुरभ्यवहारप्रापणात् । देवदम्भं च² ।) — "The elders of the village

1. P. 18 'History of village communities in Western India.'

2. P. 48 and also Cf. अग्रामभ्यवहारानां देवविशुद्धं मातृवन्धुषु ग्रामवृद्धेषु वा स्थापयेयुर्भ्यवहारप्रापणात् । प्रोदितस्य वा ।

Ib. d P. 161.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

shall protect the property of minors till they attain majority. They shall also preserve the property of the (village) gods."

(ii) To decide boundary-disputes (*क्षेत्रविवादं ग्रामन्तग्राम-
वृद्धाः कुर्युः*¹) "Disputes concerning the boundary
of fields shall be decided either by the elders of
the neighbourhood or of the village."

(iii) To keep in good repairs temples, holy places, and
other religious sites:— *सेतुकूपपुण्यस्थानैस्पर्देवावतमानि
च स्वाम्यभावे ग्रामाः पुण्यर्थांश्च वा प्रतिकुर्युः*² "In the
absence of their masters, either the elders of the
village or some charitable gentlemen shall repair
the (dilapidated) embankments, wells, holy places,
Chaityas, and the temples".

These are all the public functions carried on by the
village people with the assent of the Imperial State of
the *Arthasāstra*. The powers retained in the hands of
the villagers, as we have just seen, are mainly those of
trusteeship. They have no executive powers which are

1. P. 169 also *cf.* *सीमाविवादं ग्रामयोद्धमवीश्वामन्ताः एकग्रामी
दशग्रामी वा* etc. P. 168.

2. P. 171.

THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

exercised by the village head-man¹ who is a nominee of the central government.

The nature of the work with which the village elders are entrusted hardly warrant the inference that they enjoy or exercise any 'right' of active participation in the affairs of the state. On the contrary it clearly indicates the fact that the central government 'permits' its villagers to discharge such duties as mentioned above partly out of courtesy to them and partly with a purpose of facilitating its administration. So we may conclude by saying that neither in town nor in villages the public of the Kautilyan state claim for themselves any political right.

(ii) Right over State-action (Defence and offence):—

As to internal affairs, the citizens of the State with which Kautilya is concerned, do not claim any voice in the management of its external matters such as waging war or concluding peace with the neighbouring states. The king alone is the ultimate authority in determining the exact course of policy to be adopted in accordance with the exigencies of time and place with reference to foreign powers. Of course, in deciding the particular line of

1. He is vested with magisterial powers as he can expel thieves, adulterers and criminals from the village Cf. भूमिस्तस्य ग्रामादस्तेनगरदारं निःसृतः etc. P. 172.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

action, the king, according to Kautilya, has to consult his counsellors for, he says, मैत्रपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भाः :— "All administrative measures are (always) preceded by full deliberation" (with the council). But these counsellors, as we have once said, are no more than royal servants whose continuation in office solely depends on his will.

The king in his dealings with the neighbouring states, is to make use of sixfold expediences in tune with the changing environments. Says Kautilya:—

परस्माद्धीवमानः संदधीत । अम्युद्योवमानो विरुद्धीयात् । न मां परो
नाहं परमुपहृतुं शक्त इत्यासीत् । गुणालिशवसुधे वायात् ॥ क्षक्ति-
हीनस्संशयत् ॥ सदायवाप्ये कार्ये द्वेषीभावं गच्छेत् ॥

"When inferior to his enemy the Vijigishu may make peace; when growing in power he may declare war; when he thinks:— 'I am not capable of crushing my enemy, nor the enemy is capable of crushing myself, then he may maintain neutrality; if possessed of all excellences he may march against his enemy; if deteriorating in strength he may seek shelter; and if he sees that any work is liable to be realised with the cooperation of others, he shall adopt double-dealing". With the help of these expediences the king of the Arthashastra competes with his rivals for self-aggrandisement and consolidation of his power. He enters the political arena with the full

consciousness that he is the sole proprietor of his kingdom. This idea of proprietorship is discernible at every step in his dealings with the various political states. This will be clear from the following examples:—

- (i) यदि वा पश्येत् — आयुधोदकायश्वमेधप्रदो वा मे जनपदः
शैलवननदीदुर्गैकद्वाराद्वो वा सङ्घति परान्विमं प्रतिदन्तुमिति;
विषयान्ते दुर्गमविषयमपाधितो वा सङ्घति परकर्मन्वपदन्तु-
मिति; व्यस्यनपीडोपहतोऽसाहो वा परः सैवतकर्मोपपातकाल
इति; विद्वद्भित्तस्यान्वतो वा सङ्घति जनपदमन्वदन्तुमिति
विग्रहे स्थितो हृदिमातिष्ठेत् ॥

"If a king thinks:— 'my country is full of soldiers and corporations of fighting men and it possesses such (natural defensive) positions, as mountains, forests, rivers, and forts with only one entrance, and can, therefore, easily repel the attack of my enemy, or, having taken position in an impenetrable fortress on (my) frontier, I can destroy the projections of my enemy, or owing to internal troubles and loss of energy, my enemy will early suffer from the destruction of his works; or, when my enemy is attacked by another king, I can induce his subjects to immigrate into my country', then he may augment his own resources by keeping open hostility with such an enemy."

1. P. 265.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

- (ii) सन्धेयस्य वा दूतं प्रेषयेत् । तेन वा प्रेषितमर्थमानाभ्यां सत्कृत्य
ज्यातु — “इदं राज्ञः पद्मानामिदं देवीकुमारार्णां देवी
कुमारवचनादिदं राज्यमहं च त्वदर्थेण ” इति¹ ।

“Or the Vijigishu may send his ambassador to his enemy who is likely to accept peace. Or, having received the messenger of the enemy with wealth and due respect he may tell the latter, “Here are the presents for (your) king. This is the gift to your queen and the prince from my queen and the prince; myself and my kingdom are at your (entire) disposal.”

Such instances, which are strewn all over the latter half of the work, clearly show, that, like the feudal chiefs of Europe, the kings of the Arthaśāstra look upon their kingdoms as their own private estates. Hence it is that the citizens of the Kautilyan State are completely alienated from the enjoyment of any political right either in its internal administration or in its diplomatic relations with other co-ordinate powers.

The king of Kautilya exercises proprietary rights over his state because, he is, like the Machivellian prince, primarily a conqueror² or the vijigishu whose sole ambition is to establish his political influence. And

1. P. 230.

2. Vide P. 408.

this object in the opinion of Kautilya, is realised by making new acquisitions of territories, as he says," :—

एवंविधेभ्यः पृथिवीं कममानोऽर्धेनाश्रयितु ।
संहितेभ्यः परेभ्यश्च विशेषमधिगच्छति¹ ॥

'A king skilled in the science of polity gains political superiority when he acquires territories from such sorts of allies and enemies.' All his external activities, therefore, are regulated and guided by the supreme material end of extending his own dominions. But in launching upon the policy of conquest he must be absolutely unfettered by any controlling agency in the state in adopting different courses of policy suitable to different conditions. And this is actually the case with the sovereign of the Arthasāstra, for, as we have already stated, there is no higher authority than he in the whole realm. It is as a result of this most advantageous position that the conqueror-king adjusts of his own accord the international relations with the varying environments to the complete subordination of the will of the people. In fact, he never takes cognisance of the public will. This will be abundantly clear to any student of the Arthasāstra who can afford to take even a cursory glance over the sixth and seventh chapters of the book.

1. P. 235,

CHECKS.

Dharma.

The State as conceived by Kaṭilya is predominantly an economic one. This is evident when he introduces a significant modification in the traditional list of the three ends of human existence, namely, Dharma, Artha, and Kāma by giving a distinct precedence to Artha over Dharma. Thus he remarks :— अर्थो धर्मः काम इत्यर्थोत्रयम् । तस्य पूर्वः पूर्वः भवाननुसम्ब्रामुम्¹ ।

"Wealth, righteousness, and enjoyment are the triad of worldly existence. Of these, it is better to secure that which is mentioned in the order of enumeration." He makes this replacement because in his opinion "wealth is the basis of virtue and enjoyment :— अर्थो धर्मकामहेतुः । This view he expresses in unequivocal terms in the earlier part of the Arthasāstra when he declares :—

अर्थ एव प्रधानः । अर्थमूलो हि धर्मकामाविति² ।

"It is the wealth and wealth alone which is of supreme importance, since, virtue and enjoyment depend on wealth for their existence." This trend of Kaṭilyan thought presents a direct contrast to that of the Dharmaśāstra thinkers who regard Dharma to be the basis of all.³

1. P. 301.

2. P. 13.

3. cf. धर्ममूलः सर्वकार्यः कामोऽर्थफलमुच्यते ।

संकल्पमूलास्ते सर्वे संकल्पो विषयात्मकः ॥

Sāṃkhya parvan, Ch. 123.

But this apparent subordination of Dharma to Artha as effected by Kautilya does not at all mean that he belongs to the Chārvāka school of philosophy which "denounces religion, scoffs at laws and morals and hates all discipline." For, unlike the Bārhaspatyas, the exponents of the hedonistic school, who ridicule the trayi¹ and describe it as a mere disguise for men of the world (सर्वरथमार्थं हि त्रयी लोकयात्राविद् इति । P. 6), he accepts it as one of the lore and recognises with great reverence the value of their teaching as being helpful for the maintenance of the social order. (cf. एष त्रीधर्मश्चतुर्णो वर्णानामाधमाणा न स्वधर्मस्यारनादीपकारिकः । P. 7).

Besides, like the authors of the Dharmas'astras, he upholds the system of four divisions and four orders and repeatedly enjoins upon the king to keep them intact.² He also regards the vedic religion with due respect and this is evident when he allows some gratuitous gifts to the priest-hood (Cf. कविगणार्थपुरोहितभोविश्वेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयान्दण्डकराणि etc. p. 46), and grants immunity from toll duties to all religious and sacrificial requisites. (Cf. वैवाहिकमन्वायनमीषयानिके यज्ञकुल्य" etc p. 111)*. But what

1. Cf. त्रयो वेदस्य कर्तारो भण्डधूर्तनिधानराः ।

अर्कगतुर्कगीत्यादि पान्दतानां वचः स्मृतम् ॥

(B. Sangraha)

2 Cf. P. 9; P. 159; P. 49 .

* Many of the above quotations I owe to Mr. Nagai's paper on the "Three main aspects of the Artha'sastra".

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

is most significant of all is that he believes in the efficacy of Dharma or righteousness. In his opinion, one of the excellences of the treasury (*Kos'asampat*) of the State is that it should be hoarded by 'just means' (*धर्माधिगतः* P. 258). Again, according to Kautilya, a king who attacks the rear of another king who has marched against a virtuous king gains advantage, "for", says he, "one who persecutes the virtuous king incurs the displeasure of his own people and also those of others."¹ But the Brāhmaṇa in Kaṭilya rises to his highest when he refutes the argument of his worldly-minded preceptor who holds that treaty based on security (*Pratibhāva*) or hostage (*Pratigraha* na) is permanent, whereas, that which is based on truth or oath is quite the reverse. To this Kaṭilya replies, "it is not so. Peace concluded on the basis of honesty or oath is immutable both in this and the next world. But what is made on a hostage or security is lasting in this world only because it depends upon the power of the person, who stands as a security or a hostage":—नेति सौटिस्त्वा । एतत् वा उपयो वा परब्रह्म न स्थावरस्त्वन्विः । इदार्थं एव प्रतिभूः प्रतिग्रहो वा वनाक्षेपः² ।

1. P. 304.

2. P. 313. For the interpretation, of this passage see p. 76 of 'The Studies in the Arthashastra' — Published by the Sanskrit Literary Association of the Karnatak College, Dharwar, in 1929.

THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

This passage clearly shows that he believes in the existence of a brighter world and a higher law. Such extracts bear eloquent testimony to the fact that unlike the hedonists, the author of the Arthas'astra fully recognises the excellence of moral law or righteousness.

But though he believes in Dharma he is not so much concerned with it. As an ardent upholder of the tenets of the Arthas'astra, he wants to impress upon the king the supreme importance of Artha in this world. "All undertakings," he says, "depend upon finance. Hence one shall first of all see to the treasury" (P. 65.). This attitude of Kautilya towards Dharma is indicative of the fact that at his time the institution of the State in India was slowly emerging from the theological stage.

Identity of Interests.

Artha being thus the one determinable factor in the life of the Kautilyan king, it is in the fitness of things that all his efforts should be directed towards its acquisition mainly by making ever fresh conquests. But the only thing conducive to the fruitful adoption of the policy of conquest and extension is the stability of his own government which on its part solely depends upon the goodwill and loyalty of his subjects. This, however, is only secured when the sovereign identifies his own interests with those of his people and hence it is that

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

Kautilya, showed that he is, expressly advises him to look upon the interests of his subjects as his own in this famous couplet:—

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां वादितेऽहितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्¹ ॥

"The happiness of his people is the happiness of the king, their sorrow is his sorrow. It is the welfare of his subjects and not of his own that will secure his happiness". Especially in regard to the newly conquered people, the adoption of that policy is the strongest shield against despotism. It is, therefore, that under such circumstances, Kautilya instructs the king to be one with the conquered people by respecting their established institutions, customs, dress and language, and by showing his faith in their religious practices. (C). तस्मात्समानशील-
वेषभाषाचारतानुपगच्छेत् । देशदेवतसमाजोत्सवविहारेषु भाकिमनु-
वर्तेत²). The foremost thing for the monarch intending to secure the allegiance of his people, so do is not to give

1. P. 29.

2. P. 409. It is needless to remind that this is nothing but one of the typical Kautilyan expediences. It is noteworthy that Machiavelli gives almost the same advice to his prince for the preservation of Dominion and stability of his government.

See Dunning pp. 215-217,
— Political Theories. Vol. I.

rise to such factors as would tend to their degeneration, greed, and disaffection¹.

The second and perhaps the most important factor that would contribute to the successful maintenance of his home-administration and also to his personal safety is the character of the king himself. A monarch who is a rake or a libertine often expedites his own destruction. The loose character of the prince is surely detrimental to the preservation of his kingdom.² And hence in the opinion of Kautilya, a king even though having an only son, had better not enthrone him, if he is of objectionable character. (Cf. न चैवं पुत्रमभिनीतं राज्ये स्थापयेत्³.) When the question arises as to whether the *Vijigishu* should march against an available enemy of righteous character (*Nyayavrithi*) under great odds or the one of a vicious nature, then, according to Kautilya, it would be more advantageous to march against the latter as he says, "the subjects of a virtuous enemy involved in worse troubles, will help him when attacked, whereas, of

1. तस्मात्प्रकृतीनां क्षयलोभविरागकारणानि भोत्पादयेत् p. 377. Kautilya gives a very realistic description of the manifold causes of national discontent which would be as true today as they were in the days of the author, vide, p. 376.

2. This point Kautilya illustrates by taking various examples, both Pauranic and historical vide pp. 11-12.

3. P. 38.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

one with dissipated character (though) under less troubles, will be indifferent (and will cause his ruin), for, disaffected people can annihilate even a strong monarch."—गुरुव्यसनं न्यायवृत्तिमभिवृत्तं प्रकृतयोऽनुवृद्धन्ति । अगुरुव्यसनमन्यायवृत्तिमुपेक्षन्ते । विरक्षा बलवन्तामप्युच्छिद्यन्ति¹ । It is, therefore, that Kautilya lays great emphasis on the moral and cultural attainments of the king. Perhaps from the nature and scope of the course of training² which the author of the *Arthaśāstra* chalks out for the prince to undergo, it seems that more than anything else, he wants his monarch to become the most highly cultured and educated man in the whole of his realm. To conclude then the influence of Dharma, though feeble in its intensity as compared to its sway in the days of the *Dharmasūtras*, the identity of interests, and the highly refined character of the king both of which largely spring from the instinct of self-preservation, are mainly responsible in restraining the Kautilyan prince from abusing absolute sovereignty with which he is supposed to be invested.

1. P. MS. 2. Vide pp. 54-59 of the essay.

CONCLUSION

Civil liberty, the fundamental requisite of democracy—It's total absence in the political philosophy of Kautilya — The Kautilyan conception of monarchy and its complete identity with that of the Dharmasastras—Kautilya primarily a practical philosopher of the State—Court-policy of the Maurya emperor with regard to conquered States—The Sanghas—Chandragupta, a worthy disciple of his master.

In the preceding chapter we critically analysed the contents of the *Arthashastra* and collected all the materials necessary to ascertain whether the State of Kautilya had at all any elements of modern democracy, namely, civil liberty and the right of the public to enforce their will on the State. These, it is needless to observe, constitute the very essence of democracy in the real sense of the term. Civil Liberty means the right of the public to call in question every despotic action on the part of the government, and the right to enforce the public will on the executive means popular control, whether direct or indirect, over the general administration of the State. These follow as the two corollaries from the theory of the subordination of the executive to the general will or

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

the State in the abstract. So the most essential requisite of democracy is that the State should be both distinct from and above the government which should only serve as a medium to execute its orders. But from the critical examination of the *Arthasāstra* we find that no such difference ever existed between the executive and the State. It was the king himself who was regarded as being identical with the State and as such there was no higher human authority who could control him. This shows that there was no general will apart from the will of the sovereign. As to the various high functionaries of the State, they were in no way bound by the will of the people. They were merely the servants of the king's own choice and consequently derived no power independently of him. The conception of the king being the ultimate authority in the State owed its origin to the instinct of proprietorship with regard to the kingdom over which he ruled. So with regard to the nature of the Kautilian monarchy we arrive at the following conclusions :—

- (i). That the king was not at all subservient to the will of the people.
- (ii). That the state and the executive were one and the same.
- (iii). That if the rule of the Kautilian king was benevolent it was due to a sense of Dharma and the instinct of self-preservation.

CONCLUSION

and not to any constitutional limitations on his sovereignty.

According to Kautilya, therefore, the idea of the State is firstly, that kingship should be identical with the State, and secondly that the king should enjoy absolute powers. But this idea of the State exactly coincides with the one of the Dharmaśāstras which we have noted in the course of our discussion over the nature of Hindu monarchy. From this it appears that though the work under discussion is primarily a manual of practical politics, and as such never occupies itself with the problems of political philosophy, yet, Kautilya takes the political philosophy of the Dharmaśāstras and the Mahābhārata for granted and treats of the practical administration of the State to suit the growing needs of a newly born empire. In fact, the philosophy of Kautilya is not primarily a philosophy of the State but that of its practical administration. The following remarks of Dunning made in connection with the philosophy of Machiavelli may be said to describe the Kautilyan philosophy. "His philosophy," observes the learned professor, "is a study of the art of government, rather than a theory of the State.....He is interested in the establishment and operation of the machinery of govt.—in the forces through which governmental power is generated and applied."¹

1. P. 208, Political Theories, Vol. I.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

The fact the Kautilya was the prime-minister of the Emperor Chandragupta and also the fact, that the administrative machinery described in that book of the Arthasāstra entitled 'Adhyakṣa'prachāra', resembles one whose glimpses we obtain, from the partial observations of Megasthenes¹, who was himself an eye witness to the court life of the first Indian Emperor, establishes that the Arthasāstra of Kautilya treats of the administration and the state-policy of his kingdom. Unlike the Roman Empire, the Mauryan Empire seems to have been mainly constituted of autonomous States. This appears most probable from the following advice which Kautilya gives to the conqueror with regard to his attitude towards the conquered king who is killed in action. Says Kautilya :—

न च इतस्तु भूमिदम्भपुत्रदारानामिमम्येत । कुत्सानप्यस्य स्वेपु
पात्रेषु स्थापयेत् । कर्मणि मृतस्य पुत्रं राज्ये स्थापयेत् । एवमस्यदृष्टो-
पगतः पुत्रपौत्राननुवर्तन्ते । वस्तुधनतान्दत्त्वा वध्ना वा भूमिदम्भपुत्र-
दारानामिमम्येत, तस्योद्विग्नं मण्डप्यमावापोतिहते² ।

" He should not covet the lands, wealth, sons and wives of the king slain (by him); on the contrary he should install in his own estate any scion of his family. He should invest with sovereignty the heir-apparent of

1. Vide pp. 35-42 of the introductory essay of Prof. Balhakumad Mukherjee to N. N. Law's Ancient Hindu Polity Vol. I.

2. P. 313.

CONCLUSION

the king who has died working (either for or against the conqueror); all conquered kings if thus treated loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the conqueror. Whoever on the other hand, covets the lands, wealth, sons and wives of the king whom he has either slain or imprisoned, provokes the Circle of states and (thus) causes it to take up arms against him."

This policy of conciliation recommended by Kautilya and hence surely adopted by his master-disciple with reference to the subdued kings clearly indicates that Chandragupta was not so much after conquering the territories and then bringing them, like the Roman Emperors, under his direct control, as he was after establishing and consolidating his political suzerainty on all sides of Magadha—probably the area of his personal rule. He was probably satisfied with receiving regular subsidies from the various conquered powers but seems not to have interfered with their internal administration.

[As for these states, it must be said that they were all monarchical states. As to the Sanghas whose acquisition on the part of the king Kautilya values so much¹, they must not have been 'States' in the real sense of the word. From the Arthaśāstra they seem to have been only corporations or clan-governments just of the type of the primitive social institutions of the Vedic

1. संघसामो दण्डमित्रसमनानुत्तमः । P. 378.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

Āryans having no specific territory of their own.¹ The Samghas, appear to have been nothing more than mercenary guilds of warriors (only comparable to the Fīrdaries of later days), making their living either on trade and agriculture or on the profession for which they were naturally fit.² The Samghamukhyas referred to in the Arthasāstra could be none else than the leaders of such corporate bodies.]

Chandragupta could not help following this sort of 'non-aggressive' policy with regard to the several states by which he was surrounded, in view of the slippery condition of the times in which he lived and also in view of the fact that he had to achieve the formidable task of establishing his sway on the minds of the people, when he, as an usurper, had ousted the Nanda dynasty rich with traditions. Hence we may safely infer that the personal reign of Chandragupta might not have been so oppressive to his subjects of Magadha in general, and of Pāṭaliputra in particular, in the midst of whom the emperor lived and moved, and with whose interests, as a worthy follower of the Kāṇṭhiyan philosophy, he identified his own.

THE END

1. So far as the Arthasāstra is concerned, the Samghas are not mentioned either as holding territories or wielding political authority.

2. कर्मवीरपुराण.....श्रेयसादयो वार्तासमोपजीविनः' p. 375.

INDEX.

Names of Authors.	No. of pages.
Altekar	... 93.
Aristotle	... 6.
Bandopadhyaya	... 79, 102.
Banerjee, Dr. Premāthnath	... 36, 46, 67, 85.
Bhāradwāja	... 51.
Bhāsa	... 12.
Bhavyabhūti	... 34.
Brahmapati	... 56.
Cole, C. D. H.	... 4.
Duncing	... 29, 52, 104, 117.
Gautama	... 21, 92, 42, 83.
Gottel	... 3, 71.
Griffith	... 84.
Jayaswal	... 36, 39, 45.
Jellink	... 10.
Kālidāsa	... 33, 84, 35.
Kāmandaka	... 12, 53, 57.
Kaṭilya	... 8, 16, 37, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, to 100, 101 ff.
Lascock	... 1, 5.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

Locke	... 4.
Manu	... 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 68, 83.
Maxmüller	... 26.
Megasthenes	... 91.
Mukherjee, Radhakumud	... 108.
Nag, Dr. Kallidasa	... 39.
Plato	... 56.
Rousseau	... 4.
Sarkar, Prof. B. K.	... 41, 86, 90.
Tozer	... 3.
Vasistha	... 23, 37.
Vishākha-datta	... 33.
Willoughby	... 2, 8, 9.
Wilson	... 6.

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Hibbert Lectures *by Maxmuller*
Kautilya *by Bandopadhyaya*

IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

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Hymns of the Rig-veda (Trans.) Vol. I	<i>by Griffith</i>
Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity.	<i>by Narendranath Law</i>
<i>Works on Western Political Science</i>	
Elements of Political Science	<i>by Leacock</i>
Introduction to Political Science	<i>by Gottel</i>
The Nature of the State	<i>by Willoughby</i>
Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval	<i>by Prof. Dunning</i>
The State	<i>by W. Wilson</i>
Rousseau's Social Contract	<i>Edit. by G. D. H. Cole</i>
The Republic of Plato.	



Printed by K. R. Bhise, at the Karnatak Printing Works,
Dharwar & Published by B. B. Naik, M. A.,
at 678, Mangalwar Peth, Dharwar

1932